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Chronicle

Home News.—The magnitude of Senator Harding's victory can be estimated by the fact that his popular majority was considerably in excess of 6,000,000, that

National Elections he won 37 States with 404 electoral votes as against 11 States with 127 electoral votes, and that he invaded

the solid South and secured Oklahoma, which had never gone Republican since it became a State; Tennessee, which went Republican for the first time since the year 1868, and New Mexico. The Republican success in congressional elections was no less remarkable. In the next session of Congress there will be 59 Republican senators as against 37 Democrats, and 296 Republican representatives as against 135 Democrats. Not only were the Republicans of doubtful prospects reelected, but such Democratic favorites as Senator Chamberlain of Oregon and Representative Champ Clark of Missouri were defeated. The Republicans will have a majority in the Senate of 22 in the coming session as against 2 in the preceding session, and in the House of 157 as against 39. Wherever State elections were held they followed the same general trend, although the majorities received by the Republican State candidates were uniformly behind those received by the Federal candidates.

Press comment in the United States has been divided on party lines, but both sides tend to minimize the party and personal elements as determining factors. The

New York Herald declares that the victory was not a matter of mere personal preference for the Repub-

lican candidates, but a "solemn referendum," a nation-wide protest against a continuance of Democratic The New York American denies that the election was a Republican victory or a Democratic defeat: "This historic election is purely and simply a repudiation by sterling American citizens of the Wilson party and that party's pro-British, un-American policies." The New York Tribune is of the same opinion: "The reasons for the overwhelming election of Senator Harding and Governor Coolidge are plain even to the dullest. The country was weary of Wilsonism in all its manifestations." The comment of the Democratic press is voiced in the following more or less typical statement of the New York World: "The American people wanted a change and they have voted for a change. They did not know what kind of a change they wanted, and they do not know today what kind of a change they have voted for. All of the restlessness and discontent bred of the war has finally found expression in the ballot-box and the result is Warren G. Harding. . . . As to the League of Nations, none of its true supporters will falter on account of Mr. Harding's majorities." The New York Times speaks in the same general sense:

It was predestination that the Republicans should win—they knew that long ago. It is eighty years since the country has had two Democratic administrations in succession. The American electorate is proverbially fond of a "change." Without the League of Nations issue to stir their prophets to warnings of certain war under Article X, the Republicans would have carried this election by a heavy majority. The taxes, the unrest, the multitudinous harassments that were the progeny of the war would have roused a very general desire to put the Democratic party out of power.

French comment on the results of the elections has been confined, for the most part, to discussions of the prospects of the League of Nations under the new ad-

Foreign Comment ministration, and it is remarkable that not only has there been outspoken readiness expressed to accept such

modifications as shall make the League acceptable to the people of the United States but open sympathy with

American ideas on the subject. Le Matin calls on the President-elect to give to the world a league that shall be of a practical, workable character, and asks him to change the present "heavy and cumbersome carcass," to put into it American characteristics and make it "simple and sincere." It adds that conciliation between the League of the Peace Conference and Senator Harding's conception of an association of peoples is not impossible. Le Journal expresses fears of British efforts to win over Mr. Harding to the British conception and urges France to "adopt the American plan of a purely judicial international organization, thus placing world policies once more on the solid ground of realities." The Paris Midi declares that France will accept all the American reservations. La Liberté says that the arguments of the Republicans favoring reservations is full of good sense. 'Everything leads us to place ourselves on the same grounds as that occupied by the Republicans of the United States." The Echo de Paris welcomes the opportunity to revise the covenant and to repair some of the errors of the Peace Conference. Le Petit Parisien remarks that more important than treaties or evanescent programs is "friendship between two nations when this friendship is founded on common interests and mutual understandings." L'Action Française regrets that France has not frankly announced that it would accept all the American reservations, and adds, "It is not our place to stand in the way of the United States in this respect." Le Petit Bleu says: "If the League of Nations, the Wilsonian conception . . . should disappear . it would be no great loss." In spite, however, of the clearly expressed readiness of France to meet the Republicans half way in any reasonable modifications of the League, the bulk of French opinion seems to be irrevocably opposed to the total elimination of the League from world politics. France has got very little out of the war except the Treaty of Peace and has little hope of deriving the fruits of victory without some sort of international organization. Nevertheless, France ardently desires the union of the United States with the European Powers, for in this alone has she any hope to counterbalance the present preponderance of British influence. To offset this influence she is prepared to do much to conciliate American friendship.

British opinion has been less outspoken in sympathy than French. It is generally taken for granted that the Republican victory is less a victory for Senator Harding than a reaction against what is called Wilsonism. The Manchester Guardian sees in the defeat of the Democrats the disappearance of the last vestige of that noble idealism which promised to lift the world out of the degradation into which it had fallen. Europe is snarling, grabbing and jockeying in the old slime, while the sole remaining effect of Wilsonism in America is popular antipathy clearly shown by an overwhelming balance of votes. The Liverpool Post says that Senator Harding goes to the White House as the representa-

tive of a profound belief, long maturing among the larger part of the nation, that Wilsonism is alien to American traditions, and that America should not entangle herself in the affairs of distracted Europe. There is still hope, however, that American cooperation in bringing peace to the world will not be refused. The Yorkshire Post declares that Senator Harding wishes to help the world "so far as he can honorably do so, with the approval of Congress and without compromising American interests." The Westminster Gazette voices general British opinion when it says that the force of events compelled England to abandon the policy of isolation, and that the same events will eventually force the United States to follow England's example. Lauding President Wilson as a man who has set up a landmark in history in projecting the League, the Gazette continues: "The League of Nations without America is a very imperfect institution, but the task of the League is an imperative world task, and we are confident that the American people will not for long remain out of it."

Italian opinion on the whole is jubilant over the result of the elections, seeing in the elimination of the Democratic party from political power the removal of those who would naturally share Mr. Wilson's opposition to what in Italy is termed the nation's legitimate aspirations. Japan is concentrating attention on California's decision on the initiative measure to bring about the exclusion of non-assimilable nations by forbidding the ownership or lease of agricultural lands by individuals or associations of such nations. The general Japanese opinion on the prospects of the League is expressed by the Jiji Shimpo when it says, "if Mr. Harding makes further reservations, the League will be seriously im-The Yomiuri Shimpun declares that the American elections have diminished faith in the efficacy of the League. German opinion is almost entirely pessimistic. While believing that the departure of Mr. Wilson from the White House will mean the disappearance from American influence of the greatest enemy of Germany, very little is to be expected from his successor.

Ireland.—Evidence is rapidly accumulating to prove that the British officials in Ireland are first cousins to the Prussians who invaded Belgium. To murder and other crimes not usually associated with civilized people, they have added sacrilege and torture of victims. The Irish papers of October 23 contain detailed accounts of these latest atrocities, some in the form of affidavits by the victims themselves. Old Ireland summarizes the events in this terse manner:

In the course of last week Fr. O'Reilly, of Feakle, Co. Clare, was thrashed by English soldiers, his house bombed. By a miracle his life was saved. Fr. Meehan, of Castlebar, was arrested, insulted, and stripped of some of his clothes. He was released "on bail"—without his giving any undertaking to return. At Kilbrin, near Mallow, the vestments for Mass and the sacred

chalice were looted by the British soldiery. Elsewhere, whilst Canon Macken was saying Mass at a country station, the British soldiery entered, interrupted the service, and would have driven the people forth in terror, but for the courage of Canon Macken. He cowed the soldiery this time, carried out the sacred ceremony, and sent the people to their homes safe. Clonliffe clerical seminary, Mount Molbray Abbey, the Vincentian Fathers at Phibsboro, were recently raided. This is the latest phase of the ruthless attack upon the Irish nation. "Reprisals"—for the crime of being Irish and Catholic, we take it.

Ireland is being made "an appropriate hell"—and Macready supplies the "appropriate devils." The case of Commandant Hales, I.R.A., of Bendon, brings home to us the nature of these devils, appropriate to carry out the work of the British Empire. Hales was stripped, tied with straps, beaten in the face till he was blinded with blood, his legs were beaten till they poured blood; he was tortured to give information, his nails were crushed and twisted with a pincers, he was again thrashed. His comrade, Harte, under similar treatment has gone mad. They have been true to Irelând. Both are now in jail. What heights of human heroism!

Thus the British have taken up the tragedy begun by their Prussian cousins and are surpassing the latter in finesse. It is a distinct shock to realize that this policy has the approval of the British nation, for did not the Prince of Wales assure us that America is almost as democratic as Britain? Yet, as was already noted in AMERICA, the Commons approved of Greenwood's policy and now the Lords have added to the infamy by an approving vote of 587 to 13. The Marquis of Dufferin vigorously defended the brutal soldiery. Lord Salisbury, true to the tradition of the "Cecil ring," thought reprisals of the proper sort desirable. What he meant may be understood from a letter written to the London Times by his brother, Lord Hugh Cecil who would imprison all residents " in any area where assassinations occur, and at the same time cut off all supplies of food and other necessities from that area." This admirable strategy of Lord Milner, applied to Boer women and children, won the Boer war; it may conquer Ireland. Lloyd George, apostle of liberty to all nations whose trade Great Britain does not dominate, suggested the death penalty for all attacks on the police or military men. The trial would take place before secret military tribunals, which so far have been composed, in many instances, by British officers who conducted and often participated in the reprisals. The blood-lust of the soldiery can be appreciated from this dispatch to the New York World, under date of November 4:

During four weeks of October the military and police are accused of murdering twenty-six persons in Ireland in cold blood. Not one of the twenty-six, it is said, was armed or engaged in conflict with the military or police, but all were selected from a list carried by officers conducting the assassination parties. The twenty-six included a boy fifteen years old, three men between sixty and seventy and eleven taken out of their beds at night and shot dead; four were murdered in their houses, two fathers were murdered because they refused to give information as to the whereabouts of their sons, a brother was killed because he refused to lead his murderers to where his brother was.

Since this dispatch was sent crime has piled on crime.

Several towns, including Granard, Ballymore, Tralee and Nenagh, have been put to the torch. Authentic descriptions of the destruction of towns have begun to reach the United States. For instance, a few days since the Irish correspondent of the New York World cabled in part as follows about the sack of Templemore:

This latest display of savagery stands out as unique because in the first instance less than quarter of a mile away was a barracks and a colonel commanding. In the second instance it is unique because of the brutally grotesque features. Soon after 10 o'clock Friday night yells resounded through the one main street of Templemore and glass began to crash. Through slotholes in doors and through darkened windows the townspeople saw from thirty to forty soldiers, many armed, some equipped with hatchets and others with petrol, setting about to destroy a large part of the town. . . And while the flames spread, this gang of King George's army of occupation smashed windows of fully a hundred houses and shops. . . .

What added to this reign of terror was the appalling appearance of many intoxicated soldiers in improvised white masks and wearing women's underwear and petticoats looted from a dry goods shop. Up and down the street they swept, after getting an abundance of liquor in a looted spirit store, yelling "Up and at 'em Black and Tans!"

Houses were searched for supposed wanted republicans. Women and children cowered in back yards or escaped to adjoining fields in the piercing cold, and last night some of them sought refuge far away, despite a heavy rain. In one of the houses where a woman lay dead the glass skylight was pushed in and the people at the wake fled in a panic. . . . In one house broken into the soldiers played the piano and sang for a long time while the building blazed and others in the street did a wild dance in feminine clothing.

"Will you tell America about it? God's blessing on you," was the simple plea of a mother of six children who remained throughout Friday night in a field, with other mothers and children, in momentary fear that their houses would be consumed by

I have obtained abundant evidence in the last twenty-four hours, in a motor trip through lonely stretches of country, that the reprisal campaign is tantamount to war on women and children. While trying to find my way to Templemore last night over rain-swept roads it was necessary to make inquiries frequently, and women with trembling voices either gave directions through barred doors, or when sure the inquirer was not a soldier or Black and Tan, ventured to open the door, only to show faces marked with anxiety. Nor is searching for the truth unaccompanied with risks, as I realized personally when with uplifted arms I underwent a search on the road to Templemore by a British officer who planted his automatic uncomfortably near my waist line, while three soldiers leveled their rifles at me

In every place where the correspondents make their headquarters there nowadays are fifty-seven varieties of secret service men lurking about. Of correspondents who today have been in Templemore none were more amazed at what they saw and heard than two English journalists who have already pointed out the falsity of replies to Parliament which have been given recently by the Irish Secretary.

The scene at Granard was similar to that at Templemore. The correspondents of the New York World and Tribune described it in the same way. Numerous volleys were fired, petrol was applied to the houses which were set on fire, "people scuttled in panic to fields" and looked on in terror at the destruction of their homes.

While Granard was being systematically burned, the reprisal

gang with songs went about its work adequately protected by a strong cordon of Black and Tans and soldiers.

"That's the stuff to give them" was the chorus with which they greeted their handiwork as each house burst into flames and other raiders added to the gayety with mouth harps.

At the end of their two hours' feast of flames, this fire gang was ordered on board the lorries for their work in Ballinalee, six miles away. But one house which evidently was marked for destruction had been overlooked, and back again the fire gang was ordered to do the trick.

Of Tralee, too, the correspondent of the Tribune writes:

The police reprisals . . . have reduced the town of Tralee . . . to a state of terror, semi-starvation and despair. Tonight Tralee's shops are closed under penalty of destruction by the police if they attempt to open their doors, windows everywhere are boarded up and fully one-third of the population has fled. And the end, unless there is official interference with the reign of the Black and Tans, is nowhere in sight. . . .

Five motor lorries, filled with armed police, with their rifles at "ready" rushed through the main streets, sending the few inhabitants, mostly urchins and young girls, fleeing in every direction.

That night the police were unable to wreak further vengeance, but the next night, when the soldiers had withdrawn, a half hour after midnight, the police, with cans of kerosene, bombs and rifles, stole into the deserted streets and burned half a dozen houses belonging to prominent Sinn Feiners. This threw the inhabitants into a further state of terror.

When I left Tralee yesterday the military was once more in control and it patrolled the town all night to prevent any further outbreak by the police. But the banks, shops, bakeries and every other sort of industry were closed in fear of the police. The reserve supplies of food were being rapidly exhausted. Meanwhile the military order prohibiting fairs and markets within three miles of the town makes not only a potato famine, but actual starvation for many imminent,

•	
Raids on private houses	260
Arrests for political offenses	1,107
Sentences for political offenses	973
Suppression of peaceful public assemblies, including fairs	
and markets	32
Military and police attacks on gatherings of unarmed men,	
women and children	81
Courts martial of civilians	62
Deportations of prominent Irishmen without trial or charge	91

Suppression	s of	national	newspapers	 12
Murders .				 6

In 1919 British ruthlessness is represented by these statistics, by no means complete:

Armed raids on private houses, accompanied in cases by looting, sabotage and assaults		
		13.704
Arrests for political offenses		
Sentences for political offenses		
Military and police attacks on gatherings of una		
men, women and children and on individuals		476
Meetings proclaimed and suppressed, including a ge		
suppression of fairs and markets in several of the	most	
important agricultural counties		335
Courts martial of civilians		209
Deportations of prominent Irishmen		20
Suppressions of national newspapers		25
Sackings of towns		3
Murders of innocent civilians		10

The bulletin alleges that "not one of these acts of aggression was visited upon those who had attacked police patrols or barracks."

Further, in 1920, from January to March inclusive, there were 8,497 armed raids; from April 1 to October 19, 16,441. Up to October 22 there were 3,000 arrests, 59 murders of innocent civilians and 93 sackings of towns, all in the name of British democracy.

Russia.—Last week's fighting between the Bolsheviki and General Wrangel's forces on the Black Sea front resulted in the latter's total defeat. The Soviet army

broke Wrangel's center, crushed his Wrangel's wings, and forced him to abandon Defeat Melitopol. Eight divisions of infantry and General Budenny's cavalry made up the forces that routed Wrangel's troops. Five columns of Bolsheviki advanced in all directions along a 200-mile front and forced Wrangel to retreat, but he succeeded in withdrawing his men, horses and supplies into Crimea. On November 7 he was still holding the Isthmus of Perikop, and was confident the Bolsheviki could not break through his lines. General Wrangel's retreat is called a "strategic" one by his friends in Paris, to whom he has appealed for help, but it is felt that assistance would now come too late. Wrangel ascribes the disaster that befel him to the sudden freezing of the Dnieper over which Budenny's cavalry rode.

H. G. Wells, the English novelist, who has lately returned from Russia, has begun to publish a series of articles on conditions there. Writing of the present condition of Petersburg, he says:

The population of St. Petersburg has fallen from 1,200,000 to a little over 700,000, and it is still falling. Many of the people have returned to peasant life in the country and many have gone abroad, but hardship has taken an enormous toll of this city.

"But every class above the peasants, including the official class," Mr. Wells attests, "is now in a state of extreme privation. The credit and industrial system that produced commodities has broken down, and so far attempts to replace it by some other form of production have been ineffective."

Ireland and the Hunger-Strike

P. J. BARRY

'N a previous number of AMERICA, we stated the provisions of the Brehon Code that dealt with the fast" as a means of recovering debt. It may be impossible to find a certain historical instance of this law in practice. It is hard to say, therefore, whether it was ever prolonged till death or not. Whitley Stokes, however, is of opinion that originally its sanction was to be found in the vague mysterious dread of retribution from unearthly powers in case the "striker" should die. I think it can be said that there is no evidence of its having been continued in any case more than three or four days. In historical times the penalties for neglecting to take cognizance of it within twenty-four hours were definite and severe; the additional death fines were scarcely a consideration sufficient to induce the striker to persevere to the bitter end. Moreover, after three or four days there is no doubt that public opinion would have been aroused, and the odium, in addition to the penalties incurred by the neglect of an immemorial custom sanctioned by law, might render the offender's position in the community as awkward as does the boycott in modern Ireland.

That the hunger-strike was availed of largely in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries to secure redress from a powerful offender there can be little doubt. Over against the impossibility of finding a definite historical instance of it, there is the precise and extensive regulation of the practice in the Senchus Mor. Secondly, in numerous legends of Irish saints it is referred to as a most ordinary occurrence. It would be impossible to appreciate these legends without acquaintance with Brehon Law and custom in regard to "fasting," and it is not too much to assume that the people among whom these legends originated looked on this "fast of protest" as an affair of common experience. The provisions of the Senchus Mor have already been dealt with. Here we will glance at some of the legends, interesting in themselves, but additionally so at present as illustrating the "fast" in Ireland in olden times. We make no claim for their historicity.

Naturally, we take in the first place, the life of St. Patrick, in which we find three instances:

On one occasion, as he was traveling through Ireland, he came on a number of slaves ill clad, ill fed, worked to death. Their master was a brute. Patrick pleaded with him to treat his slaves humanely, but his plea fell on deaf ears. Then did Patrick fast on him and compelled him to curb his harshness and to treat his slaves with more consideration. (Tripart. Life, p. 218).

St. Patrick and St. Germanus were traveling in Brit-

ain and they came to a heretical city. "What shall we do to them?" said St. Germanus. "Let us fast on them before the city to the end of three days," said St. Patrick, "and unless they turn, let God deliver judgment upon them." They did so, and at nocturns on the third night, the earth swallowed up the city. (Tripart. Life, p. 418).

When there was a great contest between Loegaire, the high-king of Ireland, and Patrick, the Queen, Loegaire's wife, was a-holding by Patrick and beseeching the king to do Patrick's will. But the king did nought for her intercession and was enraged against Patrick. Patrick was fasting towards God upon Loegaire. The King went into his banquet-house to feast with his kings, but the Queen went into a house apart and refused to eat anything while Patrick was fasting.

Enna, her son, contrary to her injunction, insisted on eating and was choked by a morsel of meat for his disobedience. Though we are not told in so many words, we assume that the stubborn King was brought to time and St. Patrick, after the manner of Elias, restored the boy to life and to his parents. (Tripart. Life, p. 556.)

The Tripartite Life from which these stories are taken is so called because it consists of three homilies on the Life of the Saint. Edited by Whitley Stokes, it is assigned by him to the tenth or eleventh century. O'Curry put it at a much earlier date and ascribed its authorship to St. Evan of Monasterevan, who lived in the sixth century.

A very curious story of the "fast" occurs in the sixteenth century Life of St. Columcille by Manus O'Donnell. On the eve of the battle of Cul Dremhne, fought to decide the possession of the psalter surreptitiously copied by Columcille from the manuscript of St. Finnen of Moville, Columcille withdrew from his warrior friends to a mountain to pray for their success in battle on the following day.

Then did Columcille fast on God the night before the battle to give him victory over the King of Erin and to cause no hurt to his kinsmen or their host. Then came to him Michael the Archangel and told him that "ill-pleasing to God was the boon he asked of Him; natheless, nought that he required could He refuse him."

The exile of the Saint was a penance for this act and for all the bloodshed for which he was responsible.

In the "Leabhar no h-Uidhre" (compiled about A. D. 1100) there are three stories that partly illustrate the Brehon Law in regard to "fasting." The first of these concerns Tuan MacCairill and St. Finnen of Moville (about 550 A. D.).

Tuan had an extraordinary career. The son of Starn, brother of Partholan, who came to Ireland 312 years after the Deluge, Tuan witnessed the destruction of the race of Partholan and he alone survived to tell the tale.

Not only this, but he saw the successive invasions of the Nemedians, the Fomorians, the Tuaha De Danaans, and the Milesians, and survived for over 150 years after the introduction of Christianity. Meantime his metamorphoses were many. He was successively man, stag, boar, vulture, and salmon; and then in a very curious way, which we are sorry we have not time to relate, he became the son of Cairill. After the introduction of Christianity, he confined himself in his grianon or sunny fortress and was reluctant to mingle with his Christian neighbors. Now, St. Finnen founded a monastery in Moville and had Tuan for a neighbor. Tuan remained incommunicative. "His faith was not good," says the story, which being interpreted means that he was not a Christian. Finnen's advances were repulsed. He had recourse to the only means left to a man in his condition who was defied by a mighty warrior. He fasted. He fasted a whole Sunday and with marvelous success. Tuan relented and Finnen and he became the best of friends,—and we have the story of his unique career. Were we not acquainted with Irish law and custom we should be at a loss to explain why Tuan, a pagan, was so easily overcome by the fast of a saint. The law gave him a day and a night to consider. After that time elapsed, he became subject to the penalties already described for disregarding the "fast." In addition, public opinion had to be reckoned with, which then or now is a considerable force, and then it was no doubt reinforced by immemorial custom and religious awe.

St. Caimin of Inniscaltra (d. 653) was the half brother of Guaire the Hospitable, king of Connacht. Guaire was guilty of a grave wrong towards his saintly step-brother and refused to make reparation. Caimin had recourse to fasting. He fasted on Guaire three days and three nights and still Guaire was obstinate. He incurred by his obstinacy, therefore, all the penalties already described. He was king, however, and it required force majeure to deal with his contumacy. The Saint abandoned his fast at the end of the third night, but before doing so, he launched a malediction at the

head of Guaire. "If it please God," he said, "the man who has resisted me will not resist his enemies." Public indignation must have been aroused for, shortly after, Diarmid, son of Aodh Slane, King of Tara, marched against Guaire, defeated and slew him at the battle of Carn Connall, A. D. 648. The storyteller leaves no room to doubt the cause of Guaire's defeat and death.

The scene of the third story is Brittany. Vortigern, king of the Bretons, married his own daughter. He was commanded by St. Germanus to dismiss her at once. He did not do so, but was afraid to meet face to face the righteously indignant Saint. He fled to the mountain, called after him Vortigernman, whither he was pursued by Germanus and a considerable number of his monks. For forty days and forty nights the king remained in hiding, but the monks maintained the siege. Finally running the blockade, he got away to one of his castles. The Saint followed, and now resolved to use the last weapon at his disposal. He fasted on the king three days and three nights; then fire fell from heaven and consumed the guilty king.

If these stories were true, I suppose our first conclusion would be that in ancient times it was a risky business to resist a Saint when he went on a hunger-strike. If they are but the inventions of the imaginative Celt, and I think they betray no more imagination than medieval stories originating elsewhere, they were intended for edification as well as entertainment. The moral is clear. The fast must have been looked on with religious awe, and the neglect of it was a matter of serious consequence. The idea of "fasting" on somebody is what is peculiar to these Irish legends, because of Irish law and custom. That law and custom cannot have been a dead letter at the time the legends originated. It might be said that none of these stories illustrate the Brehon Law in the matter of recovering debt. That is quite true; but it can be urged that they rather indicate that the "fast" was more widely used to redress a wrong of any kind; in general, to force the mighty to walk in the way of jus-

The Broken Marriage Bond

ANTHONY M. BENEDIK, D.D.

ENERAL, vague statements concerning the increasing tendency towards divorce and the consequent laxity in regard to morals cause but a ripple on the placid surface of our busy everyday life; but when figures come home to us and point out how family life is being destroyed by this viper, we begin to display some interest. Just a few remarks anent a recent interview granted on the divorce situation in old Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, by the leading divorce lawyer of the county and the present judge of the Westmoreland County courts.

Only three causes allow divorce action in the State of Pennsylvania, adultery, continuous desertion for a period of two years or longer, and cruel and barbarous treatment. The laws in this State are far more stringent than are those of many other States, yet the rapid increase in the number of divorces granted indicates the presence of some disturbing factor. In Westmoreland County, for instance, during the last ten years we find a gain of over 300 per cent, while the number of marriage licenses taken out has remained almost stationary. The sense of the obligation of matrimony is waning.

During the year 1909 but 61 libels in divorce were filed; the September term alone of the year 1920 had 90 cases. We find a gradual increase from 61 cases in 1909 to 110 cases in 1914; in 1915 there was a relapse to 93, but 1916 again sees a jump to 133; 1917 had 153, 1918 had 140, and 1919 had 200 cases. During the year 1920 the first two terms of court have granted 134 divorces, and the total for the year will reach considerably over 240. In the meantime, the number of marriage licenses taken out has not increased. In 1916 2,024 licenses were granted, in 1919 there were 2,007, while 1920 will certainly not reach far over 2,000. Thus in 1916 we have 15.21 marriages per divorce, and in 1919 the average is 10.03 marriages per divorce, and 1920 will reach a much lower level.

* The proportionate increase in the divorce rate is by no means peculiar to this one county. All over the country the same danger sign is out. According to the figures of C. D. Wright, former Commissioner of Labor, the number of divorces in the United States for the twenty-year period from 1867 to 1886 increased 157 per cent, while population in the same period of time advanced but 60 per cent. During the next twenty years, from 1887 to 1906, the number of divorces was nearly tripled, the exact figures being 945,625 as against 328,716 during the preceding twenty years. In 1870 there was one divorce for every 3,441 persons in the United States; in 1905 there was one divorce per 1,218 persons.

There may seem to be in the foregoing a needless multiplication of figures, but they will bear close scrutiny. Principles are not always reducible to practice, and the conclusion does not always bear out the premises, but comparative statistics generally carry a meaning; especially when, as in the present case, every aspect of the question, viewed from every conceivable angle, adds to the weight of our argument.

And so the fact stands, that there is an alarming looseness about the way in which the marriage knot is tied nowadays. What is the cause? Asked this question, Philip K. Shaner, the leading divorce lawyer of Westmoreland County, answered without hesitation that in his mind it was due to the laxity of the laws. Judge Alexander D. McConnell, serving his third term on the bench, confessed himself at a loss to account for the amazing increase in the number of divorces granted.

Perhaps it is only a phase of the unrest apparent all over the country. Independent of the fact that at the last two terms of court a great many libels were presented by soldiers and their wives, I do not know what the cause is.

But both the lawyer and the judge admitted that the temptation was very great for mutually dissatisfied parties to frame a quarrel and thereby rid themselves of each other's unwelcome company, for desertion was given as the cause in the great majority of cases. And ninety-five per cent of the divorces granted were uncontested, indicating a willingness on the part of both parties to rescind the marriage contract.

One all-important point, however, is brought out by the interviewer; namely, that very few, in fact, less than twenty per cent of all the libels have been filed by foreign-born residents. He assigns as the underlying reason for this the fact that most of the foreign-born citizens belong to the Roman Catholic Church, which does not sanction divorce.

There is the solution to the riddle, held by the Church of Christ, promulgated by her from her institution, in accordance with the words of her Founder: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be in one flesh. Therefore now they are not two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." For when the elements of which the integral flesh is composed are torn apart, that flesh no longer lives. So the life, the soul of marriage consists in its indissolubility.

More emphasis than that the Catholic position does not need, for the attitude of the Church from the beginning has been clear and unmistakable. Separations have been allowed for grave reason, for certain irregularities the nullity of invalid marriages has been promulgated, but never, in the twenty centuries which have elapsed since our Saviour taught His doctrine, has the Catholic Church set her seal upon divorce. And she never will do so, for the enlightening and guiding influence of the Holy Spirit, by the testimony of her Founder, abides with her forever.

John Stuart Mill, in his essay on "Liberty," argues that even from a natural standpoint marriage should be indissoluble, and argues well, in the following words:

When a person, either by express promise or by conduct, has encouraged another to rely upon his continuing to act in a certain way, to build expectations and calculations, and stake any part of his plan of life upon that supposition, a new series of moral obligations arises on his part towards that person, which may possibly be overruled, but cannot be ignored. And again, if the relation between two contracting parties has been followed by consequences to others; if it has placed third parties in any peculiar position, or, as in the case of marriage, has even called third parties into existence, obligations arise on the part of both the contracting parties towards those third persons, the fulfillment of which, or at all events the mode of fulfillment, must be greatly affected by the continuance or disruption of the relation between the original parties to the contract.

The danger of the prevalence of divorce is generally recognized. As noticed in AMERICA of October 2, a group of bishops, clergy and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal church have banded together in an anti-divorce organization under the title, "Society for Upholding the Sanctity of Marriage." The society's principles affirm the possibility of separation, but hold the marriage bond to be absolutely indissoluble, in accordance with the words of Christ, "till death." In that direction lies the truth. For the Church visible was instituted by Christ to carry on His work, to live up to His doctrines, which are clearly and unequivocally contained in His utterances in the Gospels. Only a biased

mind can interpret His teaching on marriage to allow the promiscuity that is now becoming so prevalent. To undermine the moral principles upon which a nation is built is the surest way of bringing that nation to rack and ruin.

Crusaders in Journalism

GERALD C. TREACY, S. J.

Youth and the man who can't keep young has no place in it," was the criticism made by Archbishop Mannix when he had finished his survey of a big American newspaper plant. A giant press printing, cutting, folding and counting 25,000 complete papers every hour, young clean-cut men walking in and out between thundering machines, "crowds of them yet no one in any one else's way," caused the statesman-Archbishop to pay his tribute to the power of youth that is behind the mechanical make-up of the American newspaper.

But the newspaper is not only the work of the young man down in the rush and roar of the press-room. Every phase of news work calls for the power of youth. For whatever your angle of vision may be you cannot visualize a typical daily paper and leave imagination out of the counting. Nor for that matter idealism. Imagination and idealism, the fighters of wars and makers of poetry, are possessions primarily of youth. If the newspaper is to function properly it must pulse with blood that is warm with idealism and fired with imagination. Search every criticism that is leveled at our modern press and you come back to the conviction that these elements are not dominant, and, because they are not dominant, the newspaper of America is not what it should be. Either imagination overshoots itself and you have sensationalism or the human touch is lacking and you fall upon the coldness of bald facts. The ultra-imaginative element is by far the more pronounced fault, for very few readers can complain that their favorite papers merely give a chronicle of

So it is that nearly everyone interested in journalism and schools of journalism looks to youth as the one hope of making journalism a true profession and not a trade, as many hold that it has really become. If we can really interest youth in one of the most interesting of all games we can make the press a power for good in America, and a force in molding public opinion. In a number of articles that have appeared in magazines during the past five years, and in many books on journalism, this same thought is expressed: youth, imaginative and idealistic, pouring itself into newspaper row year after year will soon make itself felt in American journalism. In the Catholic colleges that have courses in journalism this same idea is common. Give the boys that are heading toward newspaperdom a real live course on newspaper technique conducted by competent newspaper men and give them besides Catholic principles and you are marshaling the new crusaders. In a generation you will have knights of the pen who will make a better America by making a better American newspaper. It reads like a good argument. But it is not unanswerable.

One of the puzzles to the man who believes in youth and the power of youth's idealism to purify the press is to find that much of the brains that is making the papers of the day is young. Not only that, but it is Catholic in reality or in principle. By that I mean if you go into the editorial rooms or the press clubs of any of our cities you will be delighted to encounter the current of straight thought that circulates there. On national, international or local questions of the hour the men who do the thinking part of the paper are thinking straight and if they are thinking straight they are certainly Catholic in thought. If this is not true of all it is true of at least the majority, and while not making the plea statistical I am willing to risk the statement that if you make a group survey of the professional element in a city of any size you will find the press group measure up well alongside the medical group or the legal group either in the scales of professional ethics or the ethics of life. If you cannot make anything more than an acquaintance survey you will find the same fact true. Not alone, as might be expected from their professional training, will you find the typical journalist imaginative, but you will find that, no matter what his age, he has more of the idealism of youth in his make-up than the typical man of law or medicine. I am not speaking of the hack-writer, penny-a-liner any more than I am of the quack doctor or the shyster lawyer. I mean the journalist.

But the bigger puzzle is that these men of principle who are giving their brains to American journalism, with all their youthful idealism, are not influencing the papers they serve. That is true. A fine body of men in the city room will often shake their heads when you point out copy that is either untruthful or worse. The fact is, all they can do is to shake their heads. For they do not own the paper. They work for the owner, who is a business man and like every business man he looks on his paper as an investment, primarily a money-making venture. An editor of one of our big daily papers very bluntly put the case of American journalism:

I refuse to admit that newspaper work today is professional work. It is a trade. Editors invariably work for employers and are paid wages or as their pay is euphemistically called salaries. They cannot be their own masters and charge what they will for their services, as can lawyers, doctors or engineers. They are subject to the orders of a boss just as a bricklayer is, and they are subject to the economic limitations of every wage-earner.

The modern American daily paper is sustained by large capital, and under the control of an individual or a corporation is bent upon making money. To make money there must be big circulation which will be answered by big advertising. Circulation first draws the advertising, and then advertising pays the running cost of the plant and increases the sweet melon of dividends. No circula-

tion, no advertising, no paper. As this is the rule of the game as now played, the editors have to write, select and space news with one eye at least on circulation. The other eye surely should be on truth. But if one eye has to close it is safe to say that it will not close on circulation. In a word, circulation, not truth, is the working norm. What will interest the greatest number of readers? This is really a definition of news. But it is the telling of the "what" that makes journalism, and in the telling the advertiser has to be considered, the interests that make for the financing of the paper must not be offended.

This is the law of procedure, and like the law of the jungle its observance may mean life, its non-observance surely means death to the independent editor. The most striking case I have in mind is not quite a year old, the Boston police strike. If the right principles of journalism prevailed at the time the story of each party to the struggle should have appeared from day to day. For the real newspaper should give history in the making. What really happened was that no Boston paper gave each detail of the conflict as it grew. After a silence-policy was observed on the police side of the question, and law and order was played up for the interest of the other side, a typographical leader sent in to the papers a mild statement to the effect that the giant presses would stop and no news at all would be printed until the policemen's version of the strike was allowed to appear in print. Then and then only did the statements of the police and their counsel get adequate expression in the Boston press.

I remember speaking of the strike months afterward with nearly all the leading newspaper men of the city. They knew every angle of the controversy but not one of them could describe at the time every angle as it narrowed or widened from day to day. One man who covered the

strike told me his experience. With the love of truth that is characteristic of the real journalist, he had interviewed every man of importance in the controversy from top to bottom, written his story and signed his name to it. He received word just as it was going to press that certain parts would have to be omitted. "Publish it as it stands or kill it," was his reply. It was killed. He was the journalist, not the owner. He was keen for truth and not for advertisements or circulation.

The fact of ownership has to be reckoned with by the crusaders in journalism. They are trained and keen in the quest of truth. As the press works today they cannot always tell the truth. The amusing thing is that a great many critics of the press are everlastingly condemning newspaper writers. Some of them should be condemned, so should some doctors and lawyers. But press control most certainly should be condemned and the newspaper man has nothing to do with control. The owner has all to do with it. The press will improve when the owner thinks more of truth than of money. The crusaders as their ranks fill year by year will do much to make the press be what it should be, an organ of truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Individually the crusader cannot make his power felt. But a band of crusaders, not on one paper but on every paper, linked together in an American Newspaper Writers' Association would be a power that no band of owners could withstand. Why, they could run their own papers if it came to a clash. There is a great deal of information in Sinclair's last book. It has a great many faults, too. But he says a great truth when he declares that the real newspaper men of the country could purify and elevate the Amerian press by uniting in a national body. Will they

Indifferentism and Dogma

J. D. TIBBITS

ONE of the most serious of the many evils which Protestantism has inflicted upon the modern world is the obscurity with which it has invested the approach to faith. By this I do not mean that the various avenues by which the many sects essay that approach have not been well thought out. The obscurity lies rather in the fact that there are as many avenues as there are; and in the perfectly rational inferences which mankind has freely drawn and is still freely drawing from it. One of those inferences is that if religion is susceptible of so many viewpoints, it can hardly, at the same time, be representative of objective truth. Another is, that it would take a professional theologian to even understand the differences which theologians themselves seem incompetent to settle.

This condition of things is forcibly, though unwittingly, emphasized in an article contributed to a recent number of the *Hibbert Journal* by the Rev. Dr. Henry

Preserved Smith, which he entitles, "Religion and the Churches." I say forcibly, because nearly all that Dr. Smith writes appears perfectly true: and the little that is not true is due to a misunderstanding so common as to be practically universal outside the Catholic Church. And I say, unwittingly, because though Dr. Smith uses his article as the material from whence to draw an inference in favor of the New Theology, of which he is himself a distinguished exponent, it seems to me capable, rather, of an inference so diametrically opposite as to involve not only the peculiar theology of Dr. Smith, but the entire theological system of Protestantism.

The doctor begins by referring to an article by the Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell in the September (1919) Atlantic Monthly, which discusses the attitude of the young men in our training camps to religion. It is beyond question that no better place could be selected for

such a test. For though religion may, and often does, fail to affect a man in ordinary life, it must surely affect him, if at all, in those solemn days wherein he prepares for the grim reality of war when he is, in a unique sense, face to face with the greatest of ultimate truths.

Dr. Bell, however, finds the average young man, even amid such conditions, strangely indifferent; so much so that he considers his indifference not unworthy of a magazine article. Dr. Smith is fully conscious of the seriousness of all this, and no less conscious is he of that far wider field of indifference, of which that represented by the training camp is but a reflection and a type. He declares:

The fact alleged, is no less ominous because it is chronic instead of acute. Indeed it is more so. If it were due to the war, we might hope it would disappear with the coming of peace. As a chronic state of affairs, it must alarm all to whom religion is the chief concern in modern life.

So much for the condition. The causes, according to the doctor's view, are to be found in an excess of theological vagueness on the one hand, and an excess of theological precision on the other. The sects have caught part at least of the infection of the New Theology. They have minimized or explained away every positive conception of sin and its punishment: and they have substituted little or nothing therefor. The effect of all this has been to lessen their logical claim on the allegiance of men, for why, after all, should men embrace religion if not to gain salvation? And if the very notions of sin and punishment are removed, there are bound also to be removed the motives by which indifference may be, and historically has been, adequately overcome. Dr. Smith writes:

By its own profession, the Church invites men to accept Salvation, yet all the while declines to point out the fate from which they need to be saved.

This excess of vagueness, however, is but a minor evil compared with that excess of theological precision of which I spoke. In the training camps of which Dr. Bell wrote, and which stand out vividly in Dr. Smith's imagination, are the representatives of many faiths. It is hardly necessary to say that each is there as the official exponent of the religion he represents; and that each of these religions are approachable by an avenue peculiar to itself, and excluding all the rest. It is not exactly an edifying spectacle, especially to a mind little interested or not at all in the subtleties of theology, nor is it in any way helpful to one who, at a critical moment of life wishes to avail himself of the help which religion alone can give. The doctor supposes a typical young man of this kind applying in turn to the clergymen of the different denominations, and his imagination very strikingly, if not always correctly, pictures the results.

The young man first applies to the Catholic priest, and in these words:

I find in Jesus the revelation of God which I need to help me

in right living. I desire to be in comradeship with him and take part in his work; let me join your people in their service of him.

To this the priest replies:

What you have experienced is good as far as it goes. But our Church holds that all righteousness begins, grows, and if lost is restored by the Sacraments, and she has proof that valid Sacraments are administered by her priests alone. What you have to do is to submit to the discipline of the Church, believe all that she declares to be of faith, come to confession and receive absolution as the Church directs.

Now it may be said in passing, that no priest would ever think of making such a reply to the words which Dr. Smith puts into the young man's mouth; but they are singularly illustrative of the view which is common, even among scholarly Protestants, of the Catholic Church. If they prove anything at all, they prove that in Dr. Smith's opinion Catholicism is no less than Protestantism, a system of theological impressions, more obstinate and more complicated indeed, but impressions none the less. And he seems to think that the Catholic process is simply to gather into a mental bundle a number of those impressions, very much as the Conceptualists are said to bundle together the common qualities of objects, and then to place upon it a Catholic label. Upon the grotesqueness of this view it is unnecessary to comment; but it is significant that it is seriously held in such circles as it is.

The young man then proceeds to the Anglican minister. From him he learns the necessity of belief in Apostolical succession and of many things of which he had never dreamed, and which to him seem wholly besides the point. He passes to the Presbyterian clergyman, who unfolds for him the entire scheme of Calvinism; and from him to his Baptist brother who explains the far-reaching import attaching to the word "baptizo." He probably ends, though Dr. Smith does not tell us, in a muddle of confusion; but though Dr. Smith has pictured the Catholic Church as contributing its part to the result, yet he must surely be aware that the conditions, as he has described them, are the direct and positive creation of Protestantism. They were unthinkable in Catholic times as they are now in Catholic countries; and they are a striking comment upon that virtue of simplicity which Protestantism has always claimed as peculiarly its own.

But these systems, multitudinous as they are, belong, after all, to the old theology, and it is the old theology which Dr. Smith regards as mentally and spiritually obsolete.

As monuments, he says, of what Christians thought in times past, Confession and Articles of Faith are still important. But they ought not to stand in the way of any man who wants to take part in the work of Jesus.

It is much to be regretted that the doctor did not continue his flight of fancy and introduce upon the stage a theologian of the most approved Union Seminary type, who could convey to this now discouraged and disheartened young man that saving message of theo-

logical negation, which in the doctor's opinion, is the only antidote fully adequate to meet the conditions he so frankly admits. He gives us, indeed, in the concluding portion of his article, a hint of what this is, and he apparently considers it so purely self-evident as to require but the merest statement in order to enlist the fullest conviction. It is the personal following of Christ that counts. And all dogma is as unessential as it is unnecessary.

Yet though one may fully admit both the plausibility and the simplicity of this scheme, especially when compared with the more labored apologies of the older sects, one can, nevertheless, hardly help asking the question as to just what its value is to be as a specific for the particular evil it would correct. Dr. Smith admits that the very multitude of contending creeds is in itself a source of obscuration; yet curiously enough, he proposes to remedy that obscuration by adding another of his own. It is true that by so doing he destroys much of what has gone before; but the fact which he apparently fails to appreciate is, that the principle by which he would do this is the identical principle which his own system condemns. If I proclaim that the doctrine of the Trinity is essential, am indeed a dogmatist; but if I proclaim that it is unessential, I am a dogmatist none the less. Omnis negatio est determinatio. The process of subtraction is every bit as positive as is that of addition. And my very affirmation that all dogmas are useless, is nothing more nor less than my act of faith in another dogma, by which I intend to supersede them.

It thus appears that while Dr. Smith sees the situation clearly enough, he signally fails to comprehend the point. If the young man of his fancy be like many another young man, of no personal faith whatever, it is very largely owing to the fact that the only conception of religion with which he has ever come in contact has been a series of equally uninteresting and unverifiable impressions. The one which Dr. Smith would add to these may, as I said before, possess far more plausibility and directness; yet it can never, from the limitations of its own nature, impart that certainty which marks the line of cleavage between a rational and an irrational faith.

Nor does it escape from difficulty by placing the essential element of religion in action rather than in thought. Dr. Smith truly says that dogma should not obstruct the way when one sincerely wishes to serve and follow Christ. But what is the way? Can Dr. Smith, even with the light of Higher Criticism, relate, from such residue of the Gospels as the Higher Criticism has left, the mind of Christ to the problems peculiar to our age? Can he tell me His attitude toward divorce, toward industrial relations; toward race-suicide; toward innumerable problems many of which affect the very basis of modern society? And can he tell me, moreover, how any knowledge of this kind is possible without dogma, and how dogma can possibly be rational without authority? With

all his good intentions the corrective which Dr. Smith offers for one of the greatest of current evils does but intensify the disease. It simply proposes a series of new impressions as a substitute for a series of old ones. In a purely mental sense, it leaves the problem precisely where it was.

There is, however, a distinct value attaching to the New Theology, and one which Catholics should, most of all, appreciate. It is that which always attaches to error as an indirect though not less forceful illustration of truth. For there can hardly be conceived a proof of greater conclusiveness than modern Protestantism continually affords us, both of the absolute necessity of authority in religion and the logical absurdity which is invariably consequent upon its absence. This absurdity is in no wise lessened by the theory that the solution of all difficulties depends solely upon the destruction of all dogmas; nor by its perfectly natural corollary, that in the death of all positive knowledge lies the path of theological light.

Cardinal Amette and the Sacred Union

FRANÇOIS VEUILLOT

IN calling to mind the magnificent figure of Cardinal Amette, whom we have only lately followed with sorrow to his honored burial, the world remembers one who was, during the war, not only one of the most sincere champions of the Sacred Union, but also one of its most powerful organizers.

When the first call was made Cardinal Amette answered the appeals of public authority for the suffering and menaced fatherland. He gave the whole weight of the high authority he held among Catholics, and time and time again he gave ungrudging of his personal labors, to make this national unity not only a power, but also an example. The Secours National, which came into existence very early for uniting the whole of French charity, for the amelioration of France's sufferers, received his prompt and loyal support. And all through, by the power of his faithful prayers, he sustained the hopes and the morale of France.

Later on, either when he found himself in company with official personages and the heads of the non-Catholic religions, on some occasion of national demonstration, or when the French Government called upon the Church to support it in asking from the citizens of France some further sacrifice, the Archbishop of Paris was always ready to promote whatever measures were under consideration, and was prepared to assist to the utmost of his power.

The great and far-reaching influence that was exercised by Cardinal Amette during the last years of his life still lives, though his body has gone down into the tomb. The unexpected death of this eminent Prince of the Church has set the seal on his life's labors, which live on in the *Union Sacrée*.

The Sacred Union is manifested, first of all, in the

press. Except for certain sheets, which are incorrigibly spiteful and sectarian, the whole voice of public opinion has paid its homage to the merits and goodness of Cardinal Amette. It is, indeed, many a long year since one heard in France such a chorus of mingled regret and eulogy over the mortal remains of a bishop. I do not speak here of the Catholic press, but of those representative journals of the moderate portion of free-thinkers.

"This great prelate was a great Frenchman," said the Liberté, and the République Française echoes the same thought when it says of Cardinal Amette that "he was before all a good Frenchman." The Journal said of the Cardinal that "he supported by all the power of his persuasive firmness all the enterprises brought forward by the Government, and in regard to such national matters as war loans gave a broad-minded support." The Petit Journal said of him: "Cardinal Amette showed the nobility of his character by throwing the weight of his personality into the maintenance of the Sacred Union."

The Temps went somewhat farther than this, when it associated all the Bishops of France with the Archbishop of Paris. After having recalled the manifold virtues and gifts of the late Cardinal, the governmental organ went on to say: "These merits were shown in a striking manner in the course of the war, during which Cardinal Amette, in company with the entire French Hierarchy, never ceased to uphold the most patriotic attitude." And again, the Temps praised the late Cardinal for having contributed "in creating and maintaining during the war, and prolonging into the peace, the spirit of sacred union of which he himself was so perfect an example."

But it is not the Radical press alone which showed its respect for the late Prince of the Church. "He whom we have lost was a good Frenchman," remarked the Era Nouvelle. The Petit Parisien devoted a whole leading article to the late Cardinal. After referring to his patriotic utterances that journal went on to say "he not only elevated the moral tone, but he elevated the moral idea." And drawing special attention to the acts of Cardinal Amette's life, it remarked: "When Paris was menaced, when Paris was bombarded, he was the good shepherd, who shared in all the sufferings of his flock. He was filled with courage, with kindness, and with piety."

Even La Lanterne, that obstinate and virulent champion of Freemasonry, could not refrain from paying a tribute to the good qualities and virtues of the Cardinal. True, it made up for this by accusing the Church of ingratitude towards "one of its most excellent servants," an accusation that is in direct contradiction to the facts.

But in taking up the general attitude they did, the press organs did no more than echo the sentiments of the population of Paris. The feelings and emotions of the Parisians were amply confirmed by the interminable and emotional throngs that defiled past the funeral bier of the Archbishop of Paris. All ranks of society were intermingled in that mourning throng. M. Poincaré rubbed shoulders with the working man, with the stains of his toil still upon him. The former President of the Republic in paying his respects to the late Cardinal, recalled those agonizing days, and showed his appreciation of that brave soul. His successor at the Elysée conveyed his condolences to the Auxiliary of Paris, and the President of the Council with the members of his Cabinet, M. Briand and other former Ministers, all offered their tribute.

The separation between the Church and the State still exists, in the eye of the law; yet by the actual facts it is dissolved.

The obsequies of Cardinal Amette could not have been more national in character, even under a régime regulated by a Concordat. In the front rank of that vast assembly gathered together in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, was the Premier of France, surrounded by the most notable of his colleagues. At his side stood the chief of the military establishment of the President of the Republic, Marshal Pétain, Commander of the Armies of France; Generals Mangin and Lyautey, and all the high personages of the State.

Twelve years ago the hearts of French Catholics were bowed down with anguish, as they followed the funeral cortege of Cardinal Richard. To the agony caused by the death of that great pastor of their souls was added the sorrow with which they noted the absence of the Government of France. What difficulties and hardships then menaced the new Archbishop of Paris! And behold, that same new Archbishop, after filling the archiepiscopal see of Paris for twelve years, goes down to the grave followed by the respectful homage of official France.

But the Sacred Union relies not alone on the feelings resultant on one unforeseen death, nor on the prestige of one grand character. Following that triumphant burial it showed itself anew, perhaps with a significance that is yet more striking and more distinctively discernible. And this was to be seen in the Cathedral of Meaux, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne. The first and the most imposing of all the ceremonies that singled out this patriotic celebration was the solemn Mass in the Cathedral of Meaux. As at the mournful vigil in Notre Dame de Paris, in the front place was the Premier of France assisting at this solemn function. And at his side was the Army of France, represented by the Marshals of France.

There was a banquet after the religious ceremony, and the head of the Government, rising before an assembly of officials, of soldiers, of bishops, congratulated himself on having been called upon to preside at that manifestation of the Sacred Union. Before that illustrious audience he wished to express, with the greatest elo-

quence, the necessity for the continuance of national unity, and he sought for words in which to express this necessity in its complete entirety. He had not to seek far, for he borrowed the words he had heard from the pulpit of Meaux Cathedral only a few moments before. It was from the lips of a Bishop of France that he took the finest plea for the Sacred Union.

COMMUNICATIONS

Letters as a rule should not exceed six-hundred words

The Michigan School Amendment

To the Editor of AMERICA:

On November 2, the voters of the State of Michigan passed judgment upon an amendment to the State constitution which read-as follows:

Section 16. All residents of the State of Michigan, between the ages of five and sixteen years, shall attend the public school in their respective districts until they have graduated from the eighth grade. Provided, that in districts where the grades do not reach the eighth, then all persons between described in such districts shall complete the sons herein described in such districts shall complete the

course taught therein.

Section 17. The legislature shall enact all necessary legislation to render section sixteen effective.

This judgment pronounced by the voters of the State was so decisive, that the authors of this iniquitous amendment, whose object it was to deprive the people of Michigan of the freedom of education, will realize the disgraceful and ignoble position into which religious hate and bigotry have driven them. The rebuke administered by the liberty-loving people of the State will be an object lesson to the whole country and especially to those localities where legislation of like character might be attempted.

For some years, the parochial school in particular has been made an object of attack in this country, on the part of those whose weapons were aimed at the Catholic Church. These attacks have been veiled under the guise of legislation which has taken on different aspects in different States. In some it assumed the form of taxation of church property; in others, State certification of teachers. In the country at large, we have the infamous Smith-Towner Bill now pending in the Congress. But in Michigan, it remained for men to strike at the very foundation of the rights of American citizens to educate their children where and in the manner conscience dictated. For months this unholy campaign has been waged in this State. The amendment was so worded as to make it appear that the framers had in view the right of the State to provide for the education of children not attending school, by compelling them to attend, and to standardize education, whereas, in reality, it invaded the right of the parent to decide where and by whom the children should be educated. Indeed the amendment took from parents the right to exercise any control over the education of their own offspring, and conceded such right to the State alone. On the face of it, this iniquitous measure is contrary to the principle of religious liberty, which is vital to real Americanism. It attacked a system which provides religious education, such as is essential in the development of the Christian life.

In the last several months, Protestants as well as Catholics have denounced this amendment as "unfair, un-American and unconstitutional." Prominent ministers of various Protestant churches, leading educators and well-known lawyers throughout the State and nation were among the most outspoken opponents of the nefarious scheme. Regents of State universities, and those in charge of normal schools put themselves on record in opposition to it. Protestant clergymen in many cities opposed it in their pulpits and a very great number of prominent men of all shades of belief, publicly spoke against it and addressed communications to the newspapers attacking it as unwise and uncalled for. Governor-elect Groesbeck who opposed it all through his campaign, while Attorney-General, in his opinion to the

Secretary of State of Michigan, pointed out that the business of conducting private schools was lawful and in nowise inimical to the interests of the State. He continues: "Quite the contrary is the case, and while the State has the undoubted right to regulate those private institutions of learning-it cannot go so far as absolutely to prohibit or destroy them, or prevent those so desiring, from attending them." The most significant feature of the past discussion was the broadminded manner in which the problem was approached by leading educators, theologians, candidates for public office and others.

The first amendment to the Federal Constitution reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This at least shows the American spirit. But the use of the parochial schools is a free exercise of the Catholic religion. For the Catholic Faith is taught in them; Catholic morality is instilled in them; without them, according to the Catholic conscience, the Catholic practice could not be properly exercised. Moreover, the fourteenth amendment reads "No State shall make or enforce any law, which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." According to the sense of these two amendments to the Federal Constitution, the anti-parochial school amendment just defeated by the voters of the State of Michigan, did not and could not stand the test of Americanism. Therefore it was contrary to the spirit of our country. It was an infringement of the liberty of the parents as American citizens, and an arbitrary interference with their God-given rights and privileges in regard to their own offspring. In a word, it was in every way contrary to the principle of religious liberty. Its defeat then, was a vindication of this noble principle.

In the opinion of right-thinking persons, we have come to feel that religion must function in our educational system, in order that the best results in character and citizenship may be obtained, and the parish school alone is making this valuable contribution to the solution of this educational problem. "The need of today is not less religion, but more in every department of life, and no less, but more, in the schools, public and private, and this need is the greatest need of today to save the world from anarchy, wild revolution and destruction."

Can it be that the great body of the people fails to recognize that the menace of this hour, the red ruin now sweeping across Europe and even showing its unsightly forces here in this country, is born of irreligion, and cannot thrive or even exist in the mind and heart of a man who knows and loves his Maker? The one hope of this republic's future peace and prosperity is that religious instruction in the Faith of the child's parents be made a prime essential of any sane system of education.

It behooves us as American citizens to keep a watchful eye on the liberties bequeathed to us by the founders of this repub-These last years have witnessed the curtailment of some of our cherished liberties by legislation both national and State. Take as an example one of the late amendments to our Federal Constitution, and just at the present time, an attempt is being made in Congress to pass the Smith-Towner Bill to nationalize our educational system. As in the lately defeated school amendment, the supporters of these laws, pretend to have a high and noble aim and purpose, but beneath the fine sounding words and phrases, there is a sinister motive. Each new piece of such legislation means death to another cherished American liberty. This tendency of centralization in the scheme of education, as provided by the Smith-Towner bill is but another plot to abridge God-given rights. All such legislation is prompted by class privilege or religious prejudice. It is a dangerous usurpation and curtailment of human rights; from a standpoint of citizenship, it is a destroying element fomenting discord, where unity and harmony are our only constructive elements and safeguards.

Detroit.

F. J. KELLY.

A M E R I C A

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1920

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Post-Election Thoughts

THE elections are over. Few lives were lost, but here and there a brilliant reputation shines with diminished luster. Victorious or defeated, there is probably not a single candidate who does not look back upon statements uttered in the heat of conflict which with all his heart he wishes unsaid. Campaign committees, too, will now begin to realize that their own particular struggles were not always conducted with that strict regard for truth and decorum which they themselves, as individuals, scrupulously observe. The bitter partisans, the bane of every political organization, made themselves a shade more obnoxious, if that be possible, during the last campaign than in any campaign during the last quarter century, while the religious bigots, despite the place won by Catholics during the war, were never more active in their nefarious efforts, and never more unsuccessful.

But now that the ballots have been counted, and overwrought souls are calmer, it can be seen that much of the intemperate talk which marked the campaign was not so much a vice as an excess of civic virtue. Of course, there can be no excuse for religious bigotry, for slander, or for studied insolence and intemperance. Still, it should not be forgotten that when men form strong and definite conclusions on political issues, they are apt to express themselves with a vehemence of which in cooler moments they are heartily ashamed. But a general interest in politics is a sign of community health. Like free speech, this interest gives rise to abuses, but, like free speech, it is indispensable in a republic. When it dies, the reign of the rascals begins. And more than ever in these days of social reform, much of which certain organizations will endeavor to effect through legislation embodying their own pet and un-Christian theories, a practical interest in the affairs of city, State and nation, is necessary to the general welfare. Catholics need not be reminded of the command of Christ to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. But they may find it necessary to remind

Cæsar that he can have no claim on the things that are God's. This they will do, in part, through the vote.

No doubt the results of the elections do not please all. But good Americans will understand that the present is no time for sulking. Problems of the greatest moment demand solution, and for some of them the beginning of a solution lies in legislation, Federal and local. We have spoken our opinions, made our appeal, fought our battle. The victors have not won a crown of glory, but have only assumed a weight of responsibility; the losers have the consolation of knowing that in defeat there was no disgrace. They have the further and perhaps dearer consolation of knowing that they form a minority which may be counted on to keep the victors within due bounds. And that is as it should be, for without an intelligent, active, well-organized minority, a democracy takes on some of the characteristics of a ship without a rudder. But, vanquished or victorious, we are all Americans. The only question now before us is how we may best serve our country.

Michigan Rebukes the Bigots

THE battle in Michigan has been fought, and gloriously won. On November 2, the voters of that State were asked to decide on the adoption of an amendment to the State constitution, which made attendance at the public schools obligatory on all children between the ages of five and sixteen years. Under its drastic provisions, the child might not be educated at home, or sent to any private school, either in Michigan or beyond the State borders. The State, as supreme dictator, was to erect schools, and to force all parents to use them for the instruction of their children. A more outrageous invasion upon parental rights and American principles of freedom, can hardly be imagined.

No charge was made, or could be made, against the private schools conducted by Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, Adventists, and by members of other religious organizations. Yet it is sad to reflect that notwithstanding the splendid record of the Catholic parish schools before, during, and since the war, this amendment was so vigorously supported by a horde of anti-Catholic fanatics as to render the result, for a time, gravely uncertain. Happily, however, the American spirit in Michigan rose in its might, and the dastardly proposal to destroy the rights of fathers and mothers over the training of their children, was rejected by a vote of about two and one-half to one. It is also pleasant to note that the candidate for the office of Governor who had scored the amendment as un-American and unconstitutional, was elected by what appears to be the largest plurality in the history of the State.

Catholics, Protestants and Jews united to achieve this result, and nowhere was the amendment more decisively rejected than in some almost exclusively Protestant localities. But no small share of the victory is due to the

campaign devised and led by the Educational Liberty League, and its Catholic president, Mr. John A. Russell. By means of public meetings, carefully prepared pamphlets, and contributions to the press, nothing was left undone to bring home to the voters of Michigan the truth that the rights not merely of Catholic parents but of all parents, and, in fact, the rights of the individual against possible State tyranny, were at stake. An appeal was made to the bar of enlightened public opinion, and the case was won.

Sooner or later, the Michigan battle will be fought in other States, and in Congress. Bureaucrats dislike the private school, because every private school is an argument for liberty. Bigots dislike it, because it affords, beyond all other agencies, adequate opportunities for religious instruction. It would be perilous to believe that bigotry and bureaucracy are on their death-bed. Defeated in one quarter, they occupy another, or return in a new guise. But the victory in Michigan encourages us to hope for similar victories on other fields and points the way.

Masons in a Cathedral

WHEN the question of "reunion" is suggested, it is common to hear good Catholics plaintively ask, "Well, with what are we asked to unite?" When these good Catholics feel that reunion will come only when the representatives of every sect make their unqualified submission to the Vicar of Christ, the Bishop of Rome, their feeling expresses the truth. But they are puzzled, not to say vexed, when they hear of movements for reunion within the Protestant Episcopal Church. That establishment, as they know, sheds the benign light of its countenance equally upon ministers who "say Mass" and ministers who regard the Mass as idolatry, upon ministers who set Christ's Divinity as the central dogma of Christianity and ministers who deny the existence of dogma in the Christian dispensation, upon ministers who anathematize divorce and ministers who approve divorce, upon ministers who exclude from their pulpits all except those who think with themselves, and upon ministers who in solemn functions embrace Jew and Unitarian and Baptist as accredited ministers of religious truth.

As in every organization, so in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the extravagances of individuals may be overlooked. But vagaries welcomed in a cathedral cannot claim the same indulgence. A Masonic service recently held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine shows how far removed from any realization of the Catholic position are the official representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On this occasion, in solemn procession with the Dean of the Cathedral walked a Jewish rabbi, a Baptist minister and the pastor of a Congregationalist church. They were met by the bishop of the diocese, wearing his Masonic regalia. Thereupon the Jewish rabbi advanced to the chancel-rail, which was adorned with lodge-ban-

ners, to read from the Scriptures. He was followed by the Baptist clergyman, who then gave way to the preacher of the day, the Congregationalist minister, introduced by the bishop as "my brother in Masonry and my brother in religion." The pastor, according to press reports, wore "a Geneva gown, a scarlet divinity hood, and a lodge medal, hung from a purple ribbon." At a suitable point in the ceremonies all rose to sing the "Star-Spangled Banner," while an altar-boy stood in the center of the chancel and waved an American flag.

Reunion with an establishment whose bishop welcomes to his cathedral a Baptist, a Congregationalist and a Jew is an impossible proposition for Catholics. Approved ceremonies symbolize the mind of an organization. Applying the principle, it would appear that before seeking reunion the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York should set its house in order by establishing unity of doctrine and practice among its own members.

A Banker and the Smith Bill

If the voters of this country can be induced to read and study the Smith-Towner bill for the establishment of an educational autocracy at Washington, the bill can be defeated. The longer it is held up in Congress, thus giving ample time for a thorough understanding of its provisions, the smaller the hope of its enactment. Almost daily some new student sees the light, and understands that the bill, mainly through its financial clauses, will not only fix a heavy tax burden on the country, but bring the schools into politics and tend to weaken local interest in education.

One does not look for the discussion of questions which by profession, at least, are purely of educational import at a meeting of bankers. Yet at the recent convention of the American Bankers' Association, Mr. W. A. Sadd, of Chattanooga, Tennessee, in the course of his report as chairman of the Federal Legislative Committee, entered a serious and weighty protest against the bill. Mr. Sadd brushes aside the claims of the later Smith-Townerites, and recognize the bill for what it is, namely, an attempt to "nationalize" education by transferring authority over the schools from the respective States to a political appointee at Washington. Nor has he any doubt that the alluring bait to the States will not be found in any "advice" or "counsel" which this Washington autocrat may offer, but in his power to disburse annually \$100,000,000. Going beyond the charge of "federalizing" the schools, Mr. Sadd claims that the bill will eventually "sovietize the entire educational system of the United States." In a private letter, he adds that his section of the Association believes that "personal and local efforts should take care of all the [educational] problems which come up."

To "sovietize" is a new verb, the meaning of which is fluid rather than fixed. Yet it would seem to include the idea that under the Smith-Towner bill, the local

schools would soon be in the hands of an irresponsible autocrat. In this conclusion Mr. Sadd is undoubtedly "Sovietize" also implies disorder and ruin. Under the Smith-Towner bill, with the schools made political pawns, it is certain that educational disorder and ruin will follow the control of the local systems by a Federal political appointee. The difficulty of excluding political influence, even under existing conditions, is sufficiently great; with a political Secretary of Education in charge, the difficulty would be insuperable. In using a new verb, Mr. Sadd has not expressed a new truth, but given a new and welcome expression to a truth long known to students of the Smith-Towner bill for the establishment of a Federal educational autocracy.

All Work and No Play

T HE old and fully discredited school of liberal economists looked upon the workingman as a mere instrument of labor, at best a being solely eager for material gain and devoid of artistic, moral and religious ideals. Yet the toiler has a soul, often a noble one. His coat and his hands may be soiled with the dust of honest labor, but his heart may be pure. Under the ragged vest, a knightly heart may be beating. That heart may be in love with all that is beautiful. For there are not two kinds of humanity, two races of men, with essentially different characteristics-one slave and ignoble, the other noble and free. Leo XIII has told us there may be different classes of men, different in talents, opportunities, rank, but all men have the same inherent right to lead a life worthy of that common humanity which is the gift of all.

Every human being is entitled to some degree of happiness. To treat the toiler as if he were nothing else but a piece of productive machinery running at high speed at the bidding of a soulless engineer is a dangerous economical and social theory. It is unjust and un-Christian to deprive him of the nobler pleasures of life, and to keep his eyes always riveted to the grinding toil of mine, factory or mill. No matter how humble he be, he has higher aspirations and ideals that must be satisfied. Oppression or suppression of these instincts which God put into the heart of all His children produce inevitable unrest in the individual and society. Men who call themselves the friend of the toiler have realized something of this truth.

They know that the worker must rest and find some recreation to restore his mental and physical energies. They assert he must be amused. In principle they are right. But foolishly imagining that the toiler requires only that rest and recreation that appeals to the senses and the sensations, they corrupt him by the very amusements they offer. Those guides loudly protest that the toiler has a right to a seat of honor at the banquet of life. They place him there. But they provide for him the poisoned meats of materialistic literature, degrading spectacles, a realistic theater that inflames his heart with passion or chills it with the sneer of skepticism and unbelief. The unreal and often coarsely suggestive or openly immoral whirl of the movies keeps him in perpetual unrest. The highly-paid purveyors of popular amusements pretend to lift up the masses. In reality they often enslave them to something worse even than the most grinding toil, the passions of the heart.

Yet the people must find recreation. The toiler must be allowed to feel something of the happiness and the joy for which his heart yearns. Our children must be amused. For all work and no play dulls Jack and Jill. Something of God's sunshine must be brought into the humblest life. But the rest and the amusement given must be in accordance with the dignity of the toiler as a man and a Christian. A wide field is here open to Catholics. Part of that field has already been tilled by the Knights of Columbus, and the splendid results obtained by them abroad and in their social centers here at home point the way which others may follow. Catholics must widen the scope of their charity. Many things are splendidly and generously done by them for our schools and our children. But other social problems are clamoring for a solution. On that solution the material. social and religious welfare of thousands of our own brothers in the Faith and of our countrymen depends. No social work is more needed or is in itself more just or in its results more beneficial than an active and thoroughly Catholic interest in the amusements and recreations of the workingman. His club, his social center, his theater and movies, his books and pictures, all that ministers to that relaxation of mind and body which he absolutely needs must be lifted to a plane worthy of him. A social apostolate of almost infinite possibilities for good here clamors for generous laborers.

Literature

"THE EAGLE OF MEAUX"

I N spite of the wealth and variety of its literature during the seventeenth century, France had then little or no political eloquence. Neither the constitution and government of the country nor the customs of the people favored its development. The government was an absolute monarchy, with all power centered in the king. There were no legislative assemblies in our sense of the word, no popular elections, both of which are allimportant factors in the creation of political oratory. Judicial eloquence, rendered illustrious by Patru, was confined to the discussion of facts, the application of the law, and could not deal with those constitutional problems the discussion of which in our courts affords our orators such a wide and promising field. Eloquence in France in that marvelous age took refuge in the sanctuary. The pulpit became its home. From that place of honor she spoke as queen. Two Saints, gentle Francis de Sales,

great-hearted Vincent de Paul had prepared the way. The second moreover had given the finishing touch to the spiritual education of Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, the "Eagle of Meaux," the Homer, the Beethoven of the Catholic pulpit, the leader of that band of bishops and priests, like Fénelon and Fléchier, Mascaron and Massillon, Bourdaloue and De La Rue, who taught a king his duties and often recalled by their accents the days of the eloquence of the Fathers.

Nature had done almost everything in her power to make Bossuet the ideally perfect orator. The compact and well-knit frame, the eagle eye, the dignity of his carriage, the simplicity of his gesture, the authority stamped on his noble countenance, his sonorous voice, his Burgundian energy and fire fascinated the eye and imagination and charmed the ear. In his father's house at Dijon and from his Jesuit masters in his native town he had received in all its purity the Faith of generations past, guarded it as a sacred heirloom, added to it all the lore of Greece and Rome, and later in Paris at the College de Navarre and at the Sorbonne gathered into a balanced synthesis the teaching of the Fathers of the Church and the Angel of the Schools. Homer and the Bible never left his hands. From the former he derived that combination of simplicity, majesty and sublimity which seal his sermons and funeral orations with a stamp absolutely their own. The Bible molded him into a Hebrew of the Old Testament, in thought, in his concept of life and death, in his philosophy of history, his audacities of language, his deep searching into the ways of Providence in its dealings with nations and men. In listening to his sudden appeals, his apostrophes, his condemnations, his apocalyptic warnings, in watching him summoning high and low to the bar of conscience and the tribunal of God, in catching his sobs over the graves closing over the vanished forms of victorious captains, princesses and queens smitten in their pride, we ask ourselves in bewilderment: "Who speaks? Is it Isaiah warning Judah of impending doom, Jeremy mourning over Sion, or David over Jonathan? Is it Ezekiel in the Valley of Vision prophesying to the dead bones and summoning them to life?" None of these, but one, who while remaining himself, has yet absorbed by meditating their pages something of the power and sublimity of these prophets of the Old Law.

Not only had nature lavished her gifts upon this favorite child, given him the noble exterior that subdues and wins, the clear and comprehensive intellect to grasp those problems that stir the heart of all ages, the logic to conquer the rebellious, and the doubter, she had added the poet's imagination to the philosophic mind, the tender heart. Champion of Providence in many of his sermons and in his "Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle," annalist of the "Variations" of the Protestant sects, panegyrist in his funeral orations on a Queen of France, a Duchess of Orleans, a Queen of England, the Prince de Condé, mourning over these mighty yet ephemeral figures, he looks for true nobility and genuine worth, not merely to the splendors of the throne and the court, but to the cabin of the poor and writes one of his most beautiful and touching sermons, "Sur l'Eminente Dignité des Pauvres." The dignity of the poor: all the tenderness of the Gospel and of the Catholic Church, are enshrined in that noble

The oratorical monument which Bossuet left behind him is of large, even grandiose dimensions. Two-hundred sermons, divided into sermons properly so called, panegyrics of the Saints, addresses to religious communities and funeral orations, show us the inventive powers of the great Bishop. Among the world-famous Catholic orators Vieira alone has left such a number of masterpieces. Many of Bossuet's sermons, it is true, are but fragments, sketches of the original structure. All, however, bear the stamp of genius and are as precious as the haphazard but mighty "Thoughts" which Pascal carelessly wrote as the inspiration came and went, but which posterity considers immortal. Of the publication of his sermons the Bishop of Meaux was nobly

negligent. He never gathered them together, he published none but a sermon on the unity of the Church, and a few of his funeral orations. His discourses were part of the regular routine of his duties as priest and bishop. He jotted down a few notes, and headings, some simple developments, and then trusted to God's help, his own inspiration, the preparation of years and the resources of a trained mind and a sensible heart, for the actual work of delivery. The task done, he gave it no further thought.

Like every true Catholic pulpit orator Bossuet is a great teacher. The exposition of Catholic dogma forms the substance of his discourses. But he was addressing an age where, with rare exceptions, the dogmas of the Faith were held in reverence by king and people, by high and low. He had little occasion to prove or defend them as an apologist. It was useless to convince believers. But he exposed the mysteries of faith as the foundation of morality. He explained; interpreted, and in this sense justified those articles of belief, convinced that a Catholic knows what to do, when he knows what to believe. Like Bourdaloue he was eminently practical, and leaving aside those abstruse subjects in which he was eminently qualified to shine, and those stirring themes which would have afforded him every opportunity to display his fire, his wealth of imagination and dramatic power, he selected those suited to his hearers' needs. Before the court he preaches on "Ambition", "Final Impenitence", "Justice"; before the most aristocratic audience in Paris he is not afraid to tell lords and ladies, bearers of the proudest names in France, that they must pay their debts, and that their wealth constitutes them the stewards of the poor. Addressing Louis XIV he instructs him on "The Duties of a Sovereign", and does so like a Bishop and a cultured gentleman, without fear or favor. He preaches the Gospel in all its simplicity, austerity and tenderness. He exposes the dignity as well as the difficulties of the law of God, inspires a salutary. fear but also inspires, encourages, and leaves his hearers invigorated, consoled, convinced that if God has imposed upon them the law of the Gospel, He also will give them the grace to keep it. His words come straight from a heart sympathetic and thoroughly human. The sermons, some of the funeral orations, like those on Anne de Cleves, Henrietta of England and Henrietta of France, on the Prince of Condé are mighty symphonies reverberant of the shouts of charging hosts or the crashing of falling thrones. Like the masterpieces of Beethoven they reach the sublime, like them they speak of death and eternity, they wage victorious battle with all the problems that vex humanity. Over all the orator pours the light of another world. He confounds man's pride, folly and sin, but lifts him up again on the wings of his lyric inspiration to the throne of God.

Stirring like a canto from an ancient epic, with a style all imagery and color, original, natural, the sermons under the touch of the master glow with an intensity we seldom associate with the pulpit. The "Panegyric of St. James" is the history of the foundation of the Church, that on St. Catherine, a hymn to true science. His sermon on St. Bernard has all the color, the freshness and charm of a fresco of Fra Angelico, and the friars of the Dominican painter are not more nobly drawn than the ascetic yet virile Bernard on the canvas of Bossuet. But Bossuet before the mortal remains of the Queen of England, of her daughter, of Condé, the great captain, of the Queen of France, Bossuet in presence of kings and princes and the most cultured court in Europe and summoning those lifeless ashes to speak the lessons of death, Bossuet bidding death to herald its own triumphs by the lips of the victims it has just cast down and yet to prophesy its overthrow by faith and its powerlessness at the grave of the virtuous and the noble, Bossuet like Daniel rapidly painting the fall of empires, humbling pride and power and showing the emptiness of earthly grandeur before those who had tasted all its intoxications, Bossuet in a task seemingly so theatrical, but in which he was always the priest and

the minister of the Most High, simple yet sublime, poet and prophet, terrors blazing from his brow, but tears, compassion and love in his priestly accents over human frailty and a cry of pardon for the repentant sinner wafted to the Judge of the living and the dead: that is a picture unique, unsurpassed in history. The "Eagle of Meaux" dwells on the mountain crags alone. We are dealing here with the orator, not with the man and the Bishop. While personally irreproachable in conduct, Bossuet had his weaknesses. Were these weaknesses absent, he would not only have been one of the world's greatest orators but his doctrine would have been above all suspicion and reproach, and his name placed side by side with those of Augustine and Chrysostom, whose eloquence he rivaled.

JOHN C. REVILLE, S. J.

LORD MAYOR MacSWINEY

Alone, he fought an Empire; now the fight Is won. No shield but naked Will he wore And love transcendent for the land that bore Him. Victor sleeps he on his arms tonight In Brixton's hall as pure, as fair, as white As his own Moira. Faithful evermore His soul shall saintly watch and ward keep o'er The hills that sparkle with his pain-born light.

Poor Albion, mad this fateful eve with wine
Of cruelty, she whirls unshamed in dance
Of death. How should she, drunken, feel the rod
Of visitation; how, stoney-eyed, divine
This other victim with the Maid of France
In prayer for her before the throne of God?

M. J. RIORDAN.

REVIEWS

Evolution and Social Progress. By JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., Ph.D. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons and The America Press. \$1.75.

The title of this book combines two of the most popular watchwords of the day. The subject of evolution has become fundamental in history, literature, science and social studies of every kind. It is constantly kept before the public in the daily press. A learned commission has just been dispatched from the United States to the remote East, to seek for the earliest remnants of man, whose origin, it claims, dates back 500,000 years. In the literature of the labor world this question is equally basic, while it is brought up as a staple argument against religion and perplexes the minds of many sincere thinkers. The present book is therefore a real necessity, not for priests and teachers only, but for all who would have an intelligent understanding of one of the most vital questions of the day.

The author clearly shows that evolution and materialism are not synonymous terms. He traces the Catholic tradition and shows the attitude of leading Catholic thinkers towards this subject, sets forth its scientific facts and draws the scientific conclusions, and finally views these in the light of the Scriptures and of the Church's teaching. The treatment is equally scientific and popular. To "the classes and the masses" the book is dedicated. From a complete consideration of the theory of evolution as applied to the universe and our own little planet, with its first vegetative and sentient life, the author passes on to a study of the same theory as applied to the origin of man and the development of society, pointing out what may be accepted as probable, and what is certainly false.

Materialistic evolution is made the center of attack throughout the volume. This doctrine, widely taught in our universities and secular schools, is not merely the basis of modern rationalism and irreligion, but is acclaimed as the supposedly scientific foundation of Socialism and other forms of Red radicalism. It is equally made the justification of the anarchism of the rich and the anarchism of the poor. The laborer is skilfully confronted with it, and has no answer for the difficulties it sets before him. Particularly important, therefore, is the stress laid by the author upon the fact that the teaching of this doctrine in the secular colleges and even the primary schools of the land will be utterly destructive, not merely of religion and morality, but of all civilization. His arguments gain the more strength in being based upon a purely scientific foundation. The book further contains accurate expositions of the doctrines of Darwin, Haeckel and other popular evolutionary leaders, while it explains also the point of view of the great Catholic evolutionists.

The realization of the practical consequences of this subject, Father Husslein states in his preface, has constantly grown in his mind, with his own widening experience. His book therefore will carry its appeal to all classes. It is "for the school, the pulpit, the press, the platform and the wide university of the streets." May it meet the wide reception on the part of all classes which its importance deserves.

J. M. T.

The Age of Innocence. By Edith Wharton. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.00.

The Vacation of the Kelwyns. By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2.00.

Mitch Miller. By Edgar Lee Masters. Illustrated by John Sloan. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$3.50.

Here are three novels of a high order of literary merit, all distinctively American. Mr. Howells tells the story of a college professor who rented a house in rural New Hampshire for the summer, and was dissatisfied with its arrangements; Mrs. Wharton recounts a tale of the early seventies when New York society was changing from the provincial to the cosmopolitan, and Mr. Masters writes of a small boy in a little town in the Illinois Lincoln country. But with sure artistic instinct Mrs. Wharton and Mr. Howells strive to present through an almost conventional setting some of the deepest truths in life, and Mr. Masters eclipses the work of both in a story of boy-life for adults which actually challenges comparison with "Huckleberry Finn," and does not meet disaster by the comparison.

Mrs. Wharton and Mr. Howells have chosen themes and a treatment which they have made familiar. As her earlier novels voiced a chill tristesse de vivre, an unending world-weariness, a sense of mankind as captives in a narrow prison-cell of environment, so an undertone of dissatisfaction with life runs through "The Age of Innocence" to end in a note of poignant grief. Mrs. Wharton is probably right in holding that life has nothing to offer that really satisfies beyond the fleeting moment of initial possession, but she rarely allows her characters to enjoy that little. Indeed, with her fatalistic philosophy, excluding a God to be looked upon and a hereafter to be attained by conscious effort in a world of probation, her course is dictated. With all its literary charm, one misses in "The Age of Innocence" the stark austerity, the unforgettable lesson of "Ethan Frome," and concludes that Mrs. Wharton is here an artist in words rather than an artist whose vision interprets aright the plan of God with man. Mr. Howells, too, in this posthumous novel, suffers from a literary agnosticism which makes him underestimate man's ability to fight and conquer his environment. That Kelwyn, although a professor of sociology who filled crowded classrooms, blissfully overlooked the wealth of sociologic lore at his hand in a Shaker village, and was unable to see the relation of good cooking to the peace and order of the community, is but a literary blemish. Shakespeare could put a seaport in Bohemia, revel in anachronisms, and make his point. But it is not a blemish, but an artistic want of faith to dissect the characters of Parthenope and Elihu, find them not wanting in

the main—and "start them out in life" as Mr. Howells does, with Cassandra's prophecy. It would seem truer art, and is far more cheerful in a world that has little enough of cheer, to fore-

tell the better things, or, at least, to hope them.

Closing one's eyes to half-a-dozen lines which are so many blots, "Mitch Miller" is a book to be read, reread, chewed and pondered. Poor little Mitch, a boy in a country-town, had his visions of beauty. like the rest of us before we discover the world's preference for the immediately useful. He might have been Keats, he might have been Milton. But Death meets him early; with only a lark's first note flung to the wondering sky, his great songs buried in his heart, he comes to an untimely end. There is humor in this book, and much true, deep pathos. The final pages, with their criticism of a world-war fought for democracy, with democracy well-nigh destroyed at home and no whit bettered abroad, would probably have brought their author to jail if published two years ago. There is a large measure of truth in the criticism. May God send that it be not made wholly true, though further forgetting of our duty to God and ourselves.

P. L. B.

Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie. By Comte Fleury, Compiled from Statements, Private Documents and Personal Letters of the Empress Eugénie. From Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon III and from Family Letters and Papers of General Fleury, M. Franceschini Pietri, Prince Victor Napoleon and Other Members of the Court of the Second Empire. In Two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$7.50.

Without question these memoirs are in many respects the most important work to appear this year. As the subject of the book survived for fully half a century the events which are described in the second volume, the author and his dethroned sovereign had abundant time and thought for selecting just what first-hand information they wanted posterity to receive regarding the rise and fall of the Second Empire. Eugénie must have read carefully every line Count Fleury wrote and it is quite probable that many a page of these memoirs came

from the Empress's own pen.

After devoting his opening chapter to a rather meagre account of Eugénie de Montijo's ancestry and childhood and her marriage to Prince Louis Napoleon, the coup d'etat of December 2, 1851, which made her an empress is described. The Prince Imperial then appears and is baptized at Notre Dame by a Cardinal legate and with Pope Pius IX as his godfather and another chapter tells of his tragic end in South Africa at the age of twenty-three. The rest of the first volume is largely taken up with picturesque accounts of court life in France during the fifties and sixties, of the Empress's social triumphs, and the royal persons she entertained and visited. How worthless and unreal seem these vanished pomps of yesterday to a reader who has watched the world-changes which the results of the Great War are still bringing to pass.

The 560 pages of his second volume the author uses to give a most interesting account of the Imperial family's large share in shaping the history of Europe during the score of years the Second Empire lasted. The Empress Eugénie was a staunch Catholic who used all her influence to prevent the Holy Father from being robbed of his dominions during the revolutionary movement in Italy but her husband "played politics" and actually wrote and published an anonymous pamphlet which had a strong influence, no doubt, in making Catholic Europe permit the spoliation of the Holy See. The Archduke Maximilian's ill-fated Mexican expedition, the author of these memoirs owns, was very dear to the Empress's heart, but he denies indignantly that she regarded the Franco-Prussian War as "her war". Indeed she did her best to prevent it. But "To Berlin!" her people would go, and the story of the disasters that befell France during the short months of the war with

Germany in 1870, the fall of the Empire and Eugénie's escape to England, form the subject matter of Count Fleury's last seven chapters. The Empress showed remarkable courage and resourcefulness during the days preceding her flight from Paris, refused to allow a single drop of blood to be shed in defense of the dynasty, but did all a woman could to save the Emperor's throne, and retired with dignity when she saw the case was hopeless. The absence of an index is a serious defect of the work.

W. D.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

For Spiritual Reading.—The ascetical papers of Father Henry Collins, an Oxford convert and a Cistercian monk, who died last year in England, have been cellected and edited by the Rev. Joseph Degan. The forty "Spiritual Conferences" in the volume seem to have been given to a community of contemplative nuns and treat of Our Lord's life, the Blessed Virgin's, and the worth of the religious state.-- "A Master of Novices" has written a helpful little book on "The Presence of God, a Practical Treatise," gathering into a dozen short chapters what ascetical authors both of long ago and of today have said about the importance of living always in God's sight and of how it can be done.-"The Christian Faith" from the French of Père Suau, S.J., is a good apologetic to put into the hands of feeble Catholics or inquiring unbelievers. "Faith: Its Nature, Legitimacy, Origin," "God and Revelations," "The Christian Revelation: Jesus" and "The Testimony of Jesus" which includes matter on the Church and the Sacraments, form the fourfold division of the volume These three books are published by Benziger Brothers. The latest volume of Father Brehm's "Bibliotheca Ascetica" contains the "Idea Theologiae Ascetica" (Pustet, \$0.75) by Francis Neumayr, a Bavarian Jesuit of the eighteenth century, and "Considerationes de Soliditate Virtutis" by Father Gaspar Druzbicki, S.J. Priests, religious and seminarians will find the little book very helpful, especially while making retreats.

New Magazines .- The Kenwood Review formerly an annual, has now turned into a semi-annual publication called the Signet, "having for its public the Alumnae of the convents of the Sacred Heart of the Eastern Province", and is edited by Miss Blanche M. Kelly. The new periodical's 108 varied and readable pages contain among its papers, verses, and book-reviews an article on "The Schools of the Sacred Heart and the New Educational Day" by Katherine E. Conway, "The Passing of the Parlor Trick", by Helen DePeyster Little, "Armenia," by Helen Grave Smith and "Bel Frater," by Christine Sevier.—The recrudescence during the late campaign, of the "National Catholic Register", a mythical periodical which anti-Catholics are fond of quoting, makes the America Press's five-cent pamphlet on the subject seasonable still .-November Catholic World contains an excellent appreciation of Hilaire Belloc by Brother Leo, Dr. Scheifley's paper on "Leon Daudet, Defender of Church and State," Father Lucas's article on "The Life Work of J. H. Newman", a good sonnet by Mr. Bunker and these stanzas on Ireland's "Martyrdom":

How can the bells of Shandon ring High in the windy tower swaying— Surely their golden throats are mute, Hushed as the soul of Erin, praying?

How can the river Lee be glad,
Between her blooming banks on-sweeping,
Or have but sorrow in her song
With all the world for Erin weeping?

November Fiction.—"The Purple Heights" (Century, \$2.00) by Marie Conway Oemler, is a novel whose central figure is an artist from an obscure South Carolina town. The author knows her South and her character drawing is very

well done. Peter, the artist, is striking enough to dominate the entire tale, and even when he does not appear the reader feels his influence. The novel's plot is also good and the author has descriptive power of no mean kind. "The Purple Heights" will hold its place as a good modern novel.--- "The Dangerous Inheritance" (Houghton, Mifflin,\$2.00) by Izola Forrester, is subtitled "The Mystery of the Tittani Rubies." It is somewhat interesting, but lacks the power of the mystifying tales of Conan Doyle and Anna Katherine Greene .-- Bertrand Sinclair in "Poor Man's Rock" (Little, Brown, \$1.90) tells how a young sailor unjustly deprived of his inheritance planned and toiled until he came into possession of his own. The public will doubtless gladly welcome "Erskine Dale, Pioneer" (Scribner, \$2.00) a new woodland story written by John Fox, Jr. It is fresh, clean and pleasing, but hardly up to the standard of "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come."-"The Wasted Island" (Dodd, Mead) by Eimar O'Duffy, is a tale of Irish life and the sad days of "Easter Week", that moves rather slowly and is neither entirely complimentary to the Irish people nor entirely in sympathy with Irish leaders and their hopes.-Quite inoffensive and mildly pleasing, but improbable to a degree, is Agnes and Egerton Castle's "John Seneschal's Margaret" (Appleton, \$2.00) Unfortunately, the book's literary quality is not high.-In his "Satan's Diary" (Boni & Liveright) Leonid Andreyev is very uncertain in his Latin, repeatedly refers to the astronomer as "Galilee", and thinks that the city of New York is in Illinois. His observations on life and morality are equally accurate and valuable.-"A Poor Wise Man" (Doran, \$2.00), by Mary Roberts Rinehart, is a rather depressing story with the baser elements of man unduly accentuated. The novel, dealing with the industrial unrest following the war, portrays the struggle of Bolshevistic principles against capital and government. The few good characters fail to offset the sordidness of Jim Doyle and Louis Ackers. The author's ethics needs emendations.—George Barr McCutcheon's "West Wind Drift" (Dodd, Mead, \$2.00), takes the passengers and crew of a shipwrecked liner to a desert island where a wonderfully endowed American youth takes general charge of affairs, resists an adventuress and marries Ruth.-Disgusting lubricity characterizes the first four chapters of Waldo Frank's "The Dark Mother" (Boni & Liveright).

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Allyn & Bacon, New York:

 The New Yenni Latin Grammar. Prepared by the Committee on Latin Studies of Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala. \$1.60; First Greek Reader. By Rev. Francis M. Connell, S.J. \$1.00; Practical Physics. By Henry S. Carhart, S.C.D., LL.D. and Horatio N. Chute, M.S. \$1.60. The America Press, New York:

 The Souls in Purgatory By the Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J. \$0.10.

 D. Appleton & Co., New York:

 The Silver Prince. By Edward Leonard. \$1.75; Fourth Down. By Ralph Henry Barbour. \$1.75; The Boy Scouts Year Book. Edited by Mathiews. \$2.50; Scott Burton on the Range. By Edward G. Cheney. \$1.75.

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 Blase Benziger & Co., New York:
 The Black Cardinal. By John Talbot Smith. \$1.75.

 Benziger Brothers, New York:
 Ursula Finch. By Isabel C. Clarke. \$2.25; The Paths of Goodness, Some Spiritual Thoughts on Spiritual Progress. By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S.J. \$1.50.

 Bloud & Gay. Paris:

 La Resurrection de la Pologne. Par Jules Lebreton; Jours de Bataille et de Victorie. Par George's Lecomte; 1. Eglise et le Droit de Guerre. Par Mar. P. Batiffol, Paul Monceau; Emile Chenon, A. Vanderpool, Louis Rolland, Frédène Duval, Abbé A. Tanquerey.

 Brentano's, New York:
 Woman and the New Race. By Margaret Sanger. With a Preface by Havelock Ellis.

 Burkley Printing Company, Omaha:
 Margaret or Was It Magnetism? \$0.60; Addresses of Welcome, Toasts, Points of English Composition and Preparation for a Newman Evening. \$0.50. Both by Gilbert Guest.

 Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., London:
 The Catholic Diary for 1921. Edited by a Priest. 2 s.

 Catholic Truth Society, London:
 Universal Brotherhood. By Agnes Henderson; "How Shall They Preach Unless They Are Sent?" By the Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J.; Devotions to St. Peter. Compiled by Cardinal Vaughan; Why Protestants Should Approve of Confession; Prayers for Confession and Holy Communion; On Spiritual Communion; A Child's Colloquy With Jesus at Holy Communion; Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament; Usual Prayers. 2 d. each

- The Century Co. New York:

 Is he source of Everydon Things. By Jean Henry Fabre., Translated from the French by Florence Constable Bicknell.

 Charrier & Dugal, Live., Quebee:

 Histoire de la Philosophie. Par Abbé A. Robert. \$2.00; Deuxieme Edition of the Princip of the Philosophie. Par Abbé A. Robert. \$2.00; Deuxieme Control of the Philosophie. Par Abbé A. Robert. \$2.00; Deuxieme College. H. Doran Co., New York:

 A History of Sea Power. By William Oliver Stevens and Allan West-cott; Penny Plain. By O. Doughas. \$2.00; Tahiti Days. By Hectora Wilson. \$1.50; Men and Booke and Clive. By Robert Cortes Holliday. \$2.50; The Capityers. By Hugh Walpole. \$2.00.

 Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City:

 In the Mountains? The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains? The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By Elam Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By In the Mountains. The Emperor of Elam and Other Stories. By International Elam and Other Stories. By International Elam Stories. By Maurice Francis Egan, Brother Leo, F.S.C. and James II. Fassett. \$3.00.

 Herry Holt & Co., St. Louis:

 Herde Elam Stories. By Mar. Maurice Landrieux. Translated by Ernest E. Williams. Introduction by Cardinal Bourne. \$1.30.

 Herry Holt & Co., New York:

 Herry Holt & Co., New York:

 The Big-Town Round-Up. By William MacLeod Raine. \$2.00; Trails to Wonderland. By Isla I. Wright. With Illustrations by Harod By Elam Stories. By Malam Mirtre Ribbary. \$1.75; The William Stories. By Malam Mirtre Ribbary. \$1.75; The William Stories. By Elam Stories. By Elam Orne. By Elam

- The Paraclete Publishing Co., Cornwells Heights, Pa. A Man Who Was a Man, St. Joseph. By Michael A. Kelly, S.T.L., Ph.D. \$1.50.

 The Penn Publishing Co, Philadelphia:
 The Trumpeter Swan. By Temple Bailey. \$1.75.
 P. O. Box 2084, Montreal:
 Ireland's Right to Self-Determination. By Rev. Dr. J. H. Irwin; Idle Thoughts on Ireland. By Jerome K. Jerome. \$0.10 each.
 G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York:
 Kobriety. By Sobja Rygier-Nalkowska. \$2.00.
 Frederick Pustet, New York:
 Medicina Pastoralis in Usum Confessorum et curarum Ecclesiasticarum. Auctore Joseph Antonelli, Vol. II. Editio Quarta in Phribus Aucta; Considerations on Eternity. From the Latin of Jeremias Drexelius, S.J. Translated by Sister Marie José Byrne. Edited by Rev. Ferdinand E. Bogner; Regensburger Marien-Kalender, 1921.
 St. Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions, London:
 A Short History of the Vicariate of the Upper Nile, Uganda. By the Rt. Rev. J. Biermans, D.D.
 Charles Scribner's Sons, New York:
 In Chancery, By John Galsworthy. \$2.00; What's on the Worker's Mind? By Whiting Williams. \$2.50.

Sunwise Turn, Inc., New York:
A Guildsman's Interpretation of History. By Arthur J. Penty.
Pierre Téqui, Libraire-Editeur, Paris:
Une Ame d'Espouse el de Mère. Par le Chanoine Jean Vaudon. \$3.50;
Le Chrétien en Retraite. Par le R. P. Alexis de Barbezieux, O.M.
Cap.; Retraite sur les Grands Moyens de Salut. Par le J. Millot. 5 fr.
University of California Press, Berkeley:
Laurence Sterne and Goethe. By W. R. R. Pinger. \$0.85.
The Westminster Press, Philadelphia:
The Truth About Christian Science. By James H. Snowden. \$2.40.
Yale University Press, New Haven:
The Garden of the Plynck. By Karle Wilson Baker. Illustrated by Florence Minard; Isaiah, Incorporated. By Elizabeth Woodbridge.

EDUCATION

"Old Granny" Government and the Smith Bill I N ONE of his trenchant essays, that on Andrew Jackson, I think, John Fiske shows how under the administration of John Quincy Adams, "the old granny, mollycoddling" theory of government threatened to ruin the young republic. According to this theory, which the sciolists in sociology and education today present as the summation of political wisdom, the ruling powers are ordained to take care of the people, quite as if the people did not know how to take care of themselves, and of the Government too, when the occasion demands. The Government was to build the canals and the roads, open banks and teach the people how to use them, "rob Peter to pay Paul for carrying on a losing business, and to muddle things generally." But no one was so bold as to assert that it was the business of the Federal Government to subsidize and rule the little red schoolhouse. That crowning absurdity was reserved to our own day. Jackson, who had scant respect for the verb "to coddle" whether in the active or passive voice, did much to cripple this abominable theory. But that he did not kill it, a dozen paternalistic projects now before Congress, not to speak of the newly-proposed Federal Department of Public Welfare, bear sad witness. Unfortunately, there is no Jackson on the horizon to suggest that this Government of ours will have its hands full if it devotes itself exclusively to the business confided to it by the Constitution. And today it has the Democrats to deal with, and there is no more fearful wildfowl living than your Democrat nursing his wrath to keep it

THE BILL FOSTERS MENDICANCY.

NOT the least offensive among present-day paternalistic schemes, and probably the most dangerous of them all, is the Smith-Towner bill for the establishment of a Federal autocracy over the schools. The mildest judgment that can be passed on this bill is that it is wholly unnecessary. "I have been vain enough to believe," wrote Mr. John P. Murray of New Jersey in a communication to the State Board of Education, May 3, 1919, "that even without the Smith bill, we are making the schools of New Jersey worthy of this great democracy, and I am sure that without any Federal help we will succeed." There is not a State in the Union which cannot liberally support its schools if it so chooses. If it is recreant to its duty to the schools, to penalize the more alert and intelligent States, struggling under their own educational burdens, is rank injustice.

It is also bad policy. It schools backward States in the wiles and frauds of professional mendicancy. It encourages them to discount the need of an intelligent citizenry and an energetic administration of public matters, by teaching that, after all, whatever burdens they may shirk will be assumed by the rest of the country. The evil effect of Federal subsidies in concerns that belong exclusively to the States, is, primarily, twofold. Political bodies are like individuals. It is folly, not good-fellowship, to encourage an individual to shift his burdens to the upright and energetic. It is an injury to the community and ruin for the individual. Next, among people, devoted as by supposition we Americans are, to constitutional government as opposed to benevolent paternalism, John Fiske's "old granny government," and to autocracy, it should be elemental that if a thing cannot be done constitutionally, it cannot be done at all. As Champ Clark

said in the House last Winter, the Federal Government "cannot do everything." He might have added that it is strictly inhibited by the Constitution from attempting "everything." deplorable that the children of Penn Yann are afflicted with adenoids, but the Federal Government has neither the right nor the duty to remove them. Yet it seems to be assuming this function in behalf of the children of the backwoods of Missouri. Or is it operating on their molars and grinders? Time presses, and the tell-tale number of my Congressional Record eludes discovery.

AND PENALIZES INTELLIGENCE.

B UT the flagrant injustice involved under the Smith bill by this shifting of proper burdens is clear from an examination of the figures compiled by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, at the instance of Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. New York, a State foremost in its care for its schools, would be assessed \$22,572,000 and receive in return \$9,188,000. For a contrast, take Mississippi. Mississippi is not a pauper State, but its interest in education can be rated by the fact that it has no compulsory education law, and by consequence, no fixed school-term. This State will pay in \$143,000 and draw out about fifteen times that sum, or \$2,115,000. The figures also show that Illinois will contribute \$9,774,000 and receive \$5,480,000, while Georgia, the Empire State of the South, assessed for \$513,000 will be subsidized in the sum of \$2,923,000. Nor is there refuge in the claim that no State is forced to take part in the scheme to Federalize education. Should the larger, progressive States, mindful of their own educational problems and actuated by the proper philosophy that charity begins at home, decline to "cooperate" with the Federal Secretary, they will receive nothing at all in return for their contributions. New York, for instance, will lose \$13,384,000, if it "co-operates," and \$22,572,000 if it declines to "co-operate". Mr. Murray is insistent that New Jersey desires no Federal "mollycoddling." Let him assuage his soul with the reflection that under the Smith-Towner bill, New Jersey will get none. If New Jersey "co-operates" it is fined \$75,000, and \$2,781,000 if it does not. For New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, and the advanced States in general it is Hobson's choice with a vengeance. A further instance, showing how the bill was drawn with an eye to sectional advantage, is found in the clause which recognizes that the Negro is the largest contributor to illiteracy in the South and refuses to recognize the contribution made to Northern illiteracy by immigration from abroad.

DEEMED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY NEW YORK.

T HE great State of New York has from colonial days deemed itself, and in fact been, capable of self-government. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. John H. Finley, State Commissioner of Education and President of the University of the State of New York, agrees that the Smith-Towner bill "is clearly not desirable." This opinion is embodied in a report made to Governor Smith by Dr. Augustus S. Downing, Assistant Commissioner and Director of Education, "after conference with Dr. John H. Finley." The striking merit of this report is that it goes straight to the heart of the controversy by probing the constitutionality of the bill:

The determination of the matter hinges on the question "is education a department of government co-ordinate with the Departments of State, War, Navy, Post-Office, and other departments, the heads of which constitute the President's cabinet?

In the final analysis of the provisions of the United States Constitution, and the Constitutions of the several States, the answer to this question must be in the negative, and the only justification or argument in favor of it is the necessity for and importance of the education of all the people in a democratic-republican form of government such as is the United States. (Italics inserted).

Rejecting the bill on constitutional grounds, the report next examines the "only justification" for the bill, which, however, cannot be pleaded if it implies unconstitutionality. The report shows that the duties assigned the proposed Department by Section 5 not only can be performed by the present Bureau, but that "clearly" the Bureau "has been performing all of these duties for a considerable number of years" except as to the appointment of educational attaches to foreign embassies, and certain other officials. A new Department, therefore, cannot be considered necessary on this ground.

AND REJECTED ON SECONDARY GROUNDS.

B UT the report recognizes that the creation of a cabinet officer is only the beginning of the bill. Its real effect is Federal paternalism.

But the bill goes further and takes on the attitude of a further extension of the paternalism of the national Government. Section 7 provides . . . the appropriation of \$100,000,000, to be apportioned, disbursed and expended as afterwards provided for.

This is a large sum; its purpose, professedly at least, is to "encourage" education within the States. The report then discusses three congruent questions: first, is this money wisely expended; second, does the bill involve but a trifling increase in taxation; third, will the appropriation remain at this figure, or will it be but a pittance of the amount required after a few years? The opinion of the New York authority deserves careful consideration.

(a) The day is far past, when the States needed encouragement for the promotion and support of education. There may yet be States that do need such support and do need such encouragement, but they are few and far between, for every State in the Union recognizes the absolute necessity for an educated citizenship.

(b) . . . at this time, the money will have to be raised by tax either indirect, or by some other means, such as the income-tax upon the taxpayers of the country. . . . One of the provisions is that no money [Federal] shall be apportioned to any State for any part of the funds. . . unless a sum equally as large, shall be provided by said State, or by the local authorities, or by both, for the same purpose.

It will be argued by those in favor of the bill that the individual tax resulting from the acceptance of the provision of this act would be measurably small, but in a State where there are annually appropriated by the legislature, with executive approval, large sums of money, running into the millions, for the support of the State Department of Education, and the support and encouragement of localities in promoting education; and in addition to such State appropriations, every locality is making large appropriations and placing upon itself a heavy burden of taxation for the support, encouragement and promotion of education in the locality (notably New York City which makes an appropriation of upward of \$40,000,000 annually for its local educational purposes) it would seem that the acceptance of the provisions of this bill by the Legislature would be clearly unjust to the taxpayers of the State.

(c) It may reasonably be pointed out that such appropriation is only a very small minimum, but as soon as the bill is enacted into law, such an appropriation would necessarily be increased to several hundred millions. This conclusion is based upon the experience of our own State, for this State is now expending in round numbers, annually, \$80,000,000 for the support of public education, and it is only a comparatively few years within which, for this State alone, the increase has been 33 1/3%. It may readily be believed, therefore, that \$100,000,000 for the eftire country would prove to be only a pittance of the amount that would actually be required and demanded by the States that would take advantage of the paternalism thus offered them. (Italics inserted).

Writing on July 19, 1919, Dr. Downing estimated the appropriation of the City of New York for school purposes at \$40,000,000. For the year 1920-1921 the city will expend approximately \$80,000,000, or an increase of 100 per cent. Dr. Downing estimated the approximately \$80,000,000, or an increase of 100 per cent.

ing's fears of the immense sums "required and demanded" by a policy of Federal paternalism, are well founded.

ALBANY, PRINCETON AND YALE.

F INALLY, the report examines the absurd excuse that no injustice can devolve to any State, because no State is forced to "co-operate" in this riot of Federal paternalism. Dr. Downing aptly points out that if "the bill is just and proper as a government measure," and if the advance of illiteracy is so great as to threaten our national institutions, "co-operation" should not be left optional, "but every State should be required to meet fully the provisions of the bill." Next, this supposed freedom to "co-operate" or not, means nothing because, in any case, the State "would still have to pay its pro rata part of the \$100,000,000 carried in the bill."

The President of the University of the State of New York, and his assistant, speaking for the State of New York, now align themselves with other notable educational authorities. "Personally, I hope that the bill will not pass" writes President Hadley, of Yale. "I am in entire agreement with President Hadley that there is no need for the proposed legislation submitted in the Towner educational bill," concurs President Hibben of Princeton. "A Secretary of Education seems to me wholly unnecessary and undesirable." And the chief educational authorities of the State of New York conclude, "Its passage is clearly not desirable." In these quarters, at least, "old granny government" as applied to education, is not popular.

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

ECONOMICS

A Third Talk on Economics

W ITHIN the social unit, it was previously shown, the public must be benefited by the use of improved machinery. With the same quantity of labor, production is greater, and therefore the cost per unit must be less; for the total product, however greatly increased, cannot cost any more, nor be sold for any more, than the total product before the increased production. And the total cost of the product at any one time represented the cost of labor plus the profits of capital.

It is then made apparent to the capitalist that no matter how greatly he increases production, the value of the total product cannot be any greater. If the people buy as much of other goods as they bought before, they have only the same amount of labor as formerly to spare to buy the increased product. Therefore the increased product must be sold at a less price per unit. But so long as there is a proper compensation to the capitalist, he will continue to increase production to approximately the point where there will be as much labor employed on the improved machinery as there was engaged originally on the hand-made product. Approaching that point, while the cost per unit of product would be much less than originally, the total cost of the machine labor would approximate the total cost of the primitive hand labor, the small difference representing capital's profit, or rather earning.

SURPLUS AND FOREIGN MARKETS

EVEN assuming that improved machinery doubled the total production, the community would be supporting no greater number of workers than formerly, and almost the entire gain would be the public's. And the public includes the machine operatives. But the public had been willing, and was able, to pay double the present low price when production was one-half the present quantity. Those who-would have continued to buy at the old price of course will not pay any more than the new low price.

Long before the point is reached, however, where the cap-

italist's earnings are the smallest for which he will work, he makes loud talk about a "surplus." He must stop his machinery unless the political powers make it convenient for him to secure "foreign markets." And his employees are one with him, for they seek steady employment in their particular line, and they do not see the injury they are doing the public. What is more, neither does the public. If the daily press has been properly developed in the supposed social unit, the people are told that the people want foreign markets for the "surplus" product. The political parties vie with one another in claiming each one's economic policy is the most favorable to foreign trade. What is the result? At first, the number of workers in the improved industry is but sufficient to produce enough to maintain a profitable selling price within the community. When the foreign market is secured, that which goes abroad lessens the quantity available for home consumption.

BALANCE OF TRADE

B UT the community, if necessary, would have paid double the cost per unit for half the increased quantity. And the capitalist now gives them that privilege, for he ships half the product abroad; and the trained press then glories in the community's "favorable balance of trade." Of course, the increased price does bring about a real "surplus." And the still further increase in price brings about a still greater "surplus," which properly represents not what the people won't buy, but what they can't afford to buy. The people of the community are then supporting all the workers and the capitalists producing the particular commodity, yet only half the product is available to the community.

Granted that the suggested fifty per cent surplus for export is excessive, and that at various changes in the price and quantity of any commodity, other commodities are also affected in quantity and price, yet this presentation is fair enough to indicate the difference between private capital operating for the benefit of the community in which it is employed and private capital seeking its own profit abroad at the expense of the home community. When the capitalist ships half of the product abroad, he then owns the labor of half his workers as his profit. He has in a sense taken them out of the industry of the community and put them to producing gold for him, and at the same time such workers get their support out of the community. The capitalist is enabled to get gold for his foreign shipments.

FOREIGN PAYMENTS AND THE COMMUNITY

It is readily seen that the receipt of gold by the capitalist in payment for his foreign shipments is not any compensation to the community, which has supported the capitalist's employees, because the gold belongs to the capitalist; but it is difficult to see that if he got other commodities instead of gold in payment, the community would be no better off. But insofar as his foreign shipment represented profit, and it is that which occasioned his profit, payment in goods would be more injurious to the community than payment in gold. For the imported goods would disrupt other industries in the community, which, assuming a complete social unit, would have been operating at the minimum profit. And as the imported goods would belong to the capitalist exporter, the people could not buy them unless they bought less of the goods that they produced; because certainly the people cannot buy more than the total of goods that they produce.

The capitalist would easily deceive the people by appropriating to his personal use the services of a number of workers, who would be supported by the imports in payment of his exports. The capitalist would then own the services of half the machine operatives, supported at the expense of the community, and the services of the additional number that could be supported by his imports. England, with its large servant class amidst industrial poverty, is a fair illustration of what foreign trade can do for the people of a country.

M. P. Connery.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Woman Elected to Congress an Anti-Suffragist

T is the irony of fate that the second woman to gain a seat in Congress, Miss Alice M. Robertson, of Muskogee, is an antisuffragist. She was not only active in the fight against woman suffrage, but served as vice-president of the Anti-Suffrage Association of Oklahoma. She was elected, according to the New York Tribune, through the heart-to-heart paragraphs set in the body of her business advertisements. The latter, under their proper commercial heading, were inserted in all the Muskogee papers to make known the virtues of a cafeteria, bearing the Indian name Sawokia, of which she was the owner. Her incidental political paragraphs told the voter why it was the best policy for every Muskogeean to cast the ballot for the mistress of the restaurant. Miss Robertson came to the old Indian Territory in an ox cart, as a child of five, more than sixty years ago. "When I get to Congress," she promises, "I shall specialize on legislation affecting the welfare of the Indian women and children, farmers, soldiers and working people." In her entire campaign Miss Roberts made no political speech and wrote no political letter. Several visits through her district she describes as merely "informal social calls." During the war Miss Robertson was head of the Red Cross work in her county.

The Philippines Set the Example

I T is good news indeed to learn from a Techny publication that the German missionaries of the Divine Word who in 1918 had been forced to leave their work in the Philippines are again free to return to their field of apostolic labor. It is well now that an example has here been set to all the nations of the Allies that an end should be put to the unjust restrictions placed upon the apostolic ministry of the Church, and that the guarantee of the Holy Father should be accepted as a sufficient assurance that the work of Catholic missionaries will be devoted exclusively to the service of God. English politicians, unfortunately, have not yet cared to see the light. At about the same time that the above news came to us we read in the Catholic Magazine for South Africa:

Of the twenty-three Catholic missions, which depended upon the Vicar-Apostolic at Dar-es-Salaam, only ten are now working. The others have been abandoned, because they have been deprived of clergy that attended to them, by the military authorities. The Vicar Apostolic of Tanga, Bishop Munsch and Bishop Voight of Bagomoyo are both practically prisoners, although they are both Alsatians. Anyone can understand what this means for the missions under their care, even if all the missionaries were still working.

These unheard of aggressions upon the rights of Christian missions, says the editor, "are legal, iniquitous as they are," for they were legalized by the Versailles Treaty. "To exclude Germans and Austrians from doing God's work as long as it suits the baser aims of the Allied politicians," he concludes, "is spiritual tyranny of an unusual kind, and it is treason to the memory of the many fine youths who imagined that they were dying for greater freedom." It is also one of the terrible disillusionments that the survivors of the war have been made to suffer.

Death of Catholic Poet

THE well-known Catholic poet and essayist, Miss Louise Imogen Guiney, died at Chirping-Camden, England, November 2. She was the daughter of the Civil War General, Patrick R. Guiney, and was born at Boston, Mass. At the age of seven she was sent to a private school at Roxbury and later to Elmhurst Convent, Providence, R. I., from which she was graduated in 1880. Her education was completed under private tutors. Her first published effort in prose was an obituary tribute to

Adelaide Neilson, which appeared in the Boston Post. Her first poetry was issued under the editorship of Arlo Bates in the Boston Courier, through the introduction of John Boyle O'Reilly. In 1887 she contributed to Harper's, Scribner's and the Atlantic. Among her best known writings are: "The White Sail," "A Roadside Harp," "The Martyr's Idyl," "Happy Ending," "Patrins," "Goosequill Papers," "A Little English Gallery," "Monsieur Henri," "Robert Emmet, His Rebellion and His Romance," and "Edmund Campion." She was also the editor of various publications. Her work is marked by literary charm and power, and bears the evidence of ripe scholarship. For many years she was a resident at Oxford.

The Holy Father and Woman Suffrage

POLLOWING upon Archbishop Cerretti's remarkable letter from Rome, written at the instance of the N. C. W. C. News Service, and urging Catholic women conscientiously to perform their duty at the polls, there now comes an even more authoritative Roman letter, issued by the Catholic News Service of London. It was received by the Marquesa Unza del Val, President of the Spanish Women's League, and was written by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, voicing the desires of the Holy Father. The Marquesa had addressed herself to the Pope asking for guidance on the subject of feminine activities, and the following is the reply received:

There are some who concluded from a recent Encyclical of the Pope that the activity of Christian women's organizations should be exclusively directed into religious channels. I am authorized to state that this was not the intention of the Holy Father.

His Holiness referred to the duty of preserving the sanctity of the Christian home, and to the practical exercise of religion in view of the endeavors of enemies to destroy the faith of the people and to corrupt their morals. But since these very enemies attempt to realize their aims under cover of industrial, cultural, and educational organizations, it behooves every one who desires the welfare of the people to enter the political arena and to unfurl the flag of Christ, in order that the light of His Divine teaching and the flame of charity may extend not only amongst the few but throughout the world.

Therefore the Holy Father desires not only that the Women's League should continue its social activities, but should do its utmost, under the guidance of the Hierarchy, and use every means to imbue all women with the spirit of true Christianity and with a clear understanding of social problems.

This letter should dispel the last lingering doubt that may still have remained in some minds. Modern conditions have made it the imperative duty of Catholic women, no less than of Catholic men, to unfurl the flag of Christ in the political arena. It is here that the great battles for good or evil are to be fought in the future, and woman must take her conscientious part, without in the least sacrificing her obligations as wife and mother.

The "Muttenjeff" Age

S. E. KISER, who writes in the November Harper's Magazine, has evidently no illusions regarding our own glorious age. He is looking for a name by which we may reasonably suppose that future generations will come to know it when they arrive at a final judgment. We speak of the Homeric Age, the Age of Chivalry, the Napoleonic Era, etc. Will ours be known as the Electric Age, the Flying Age, or the Wireless Age? This would be flattering; but the writer thinks that after a careful study posterity will best be able to summarize existing conditions by referring to our times as the "Muttenjeff" Age. For evidence he refers to such typical instances as the overall movement, the outlaw strike, the methods employed in enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment, the organization of syndicates for the

purpose of acquiring bonds in million-dollar bundles and then engaging in extensive transactions with the police, while capital and labor meet in conventions to establish amity by hissing and cat-calls. In the jazz and the shimmy the public finds surcease from sorrow and discovers the means by which it is enabled to give expression to its emotions. The essence of humor is found in splashing a pie over somebody's face and then plunging into a barrel of flour. Cubism and futurism are but the flowering of this same spirit, and poetical fame is won by such edifying trifles as the following:

Two scraps of rubbish in a sewer; A cloud with purple edges; In a bog The nose of a turtle Protruding through the scum.

Rapturous and touching as such effusions certainly are, the climax is reached when the Muttenjeff spirit has invaded the

A man may marry a woman, divorce her, marry another, divorce her, marry the first one again, divorce her a second time, marry some one else, divorce her, look up the original darling of his heart, who, in the mean time has perhaps been married to and divorced from three or four other men, induce her to join him once more in the connubial adventure, and the public views the proceedings with delight. So diverting are such affairs that it has become almost impossible for "professional" people to maintain themselves in good standing unless they, too, conform to the custom of exchanging husbands and wives.

Now all this is overdrawn, like every caricature, and purposely overlooks the many noble strivings of our time, but who can fail to find the Muttenjeff motif sufficiently marked outside the "funny page" which reflects quite truly what the people want? Who can fail to see it in but too much of our amusement, art, business, politics, and, as the writer says, "in most other things which engage public interest." At the root of all this is the absence of religious reverence.

In the Land of Prohibition

SOME interesting sidelights upon the manner in which the Prohibition law is observed in the United States, and upon the religious effects it is having upon the American nation, are given in the North American Review for November:

Unpleasant reports come, of the most circumstantial and positive character, from the highest authorities, of the increasing and increasingly flagrant disregard of the Prohibition law. One expert and authoritative observer recently declared that in New Jersey there were more drunken men and women than ever before. That was because of the home manufacture of beer containing eight or nine percent of alcohol, instead of the three or four per cent formerly produced by breweries. In all large cities there are stores on almost every street, if not on every block, for the sale of hops, malt and other ingredients and mechanical appliances for the home manufacture of beer, with full directions for their use. The sale of copper and other tubing, of a size suitable for the making of small stills for household use, has enormously increased. Of course the making of crude beverages in private homes, of excessive alcoholic strength, and the drinking of them in a raw, unseasoned state, must be far more pernicious than was the former liquor traffic which these semi-surreptitious devices and practices have supplanted. In many places the state of affairs is an open scandal, revolting alike to sincere and thoughtful "wets" and "drys." The physical results of such tippling are deplorable. The moral effects, in inculcating contempt for law, are atrocious.

Visiting a New York hospital the writer of this note was told that the cases of drunkenness treated there have been greater since the passing of Prohibition than ever before in the history of the institution. To this is added the costly farce of spending millions of dollars, and billions before long, in the presumed enforcement of the Prohibition law.